Daily Report

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CSSR's Klaus Explains CEMA Proposal

AU0901123490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jan 90 p 15

["CTK, is"-signed report: "Czechoslovakia Will Propose Dissolution of CEMA"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw/Prague— Czechoslovakia is determined to propose at the upcoming CEMA meeting in Sofia the dissolution of this organization. This was stated by CSSR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus in an interview published by the Polish Government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA on Thursday [4 January]. [passage omitted]

Denial, Nondenial

At a news conference on Thursday, Vaclav Klaus denied this information: "I certainly did not say to dissolve it immediately, although I cannot swear by it now because I do not have the text of my statements in front of me. Yet it is clear that CEMA cannot exist in its present form; and in the form in which it exists, it has no principled reason [zasadni duvod] for its existence."

CSSR Commentary: CEMA Criticism 'Justified'

AU0901140190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jan 90 p 4

[Milan Rusko commentary: "No Longer the Ruble?: CEMA in its Present Form Has No Justification"]

[Text] In an interview for the Polish daily RZECZPOSPOLITA, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus declared that Czechoslovakia is determined to propose at the upcoming CEMA session that this organization be dissolved. Considering that the mechanism of economic cooperation has for years been subject to justified criticism, it is highly probable that the organization will accept the proposal, although the details will depend also on the other members. It is characteristic that, throughout the period of CEMA's existence, critical voices have been coming from all sides. Some members were dissatisfied when, in the first years, Czechoslovakia was providing too little of its technology and know how within the framework of "fraternal assistance." Another bone of contention has been the compensation for deliveries of raw materials such as crude oil, iron ore, uranium ore, sulfur, and the like.

There did not exist an effective system that would force individual member states to intensify economic enterprise and to create competitive conditions, both within the community and in relation to the outside world.

However, it is not CEMA as an organization that is to blame for this but the political mechanisms which have been confining its activity to a narrow scope of inertia and proclaimed effectiveness. Discussions on how CEMA should function and what ought to be changed have been intensifying in recent years, especially since 1985. However, the political changes in Poland and Hungary were not sufficient for the situation to change radically. The Soviet Union, too, expressed its interest in correcting the existing structures but practical steps that would concern the whole CEMA framework have been hampered by indecision and, also, by the attempt to achieve certain changes by means of cosmetic adjustments in the activity of the organization. We in Czechoslovakia have been following the attempt by individual states, especially Hungary and Poland, to open themselves to the EEC, up to the endeavor to become members of this community, and the efforts of the USSR to expand cooperation with the West on the basis of its own possibilities and hidden potentials, through the prism of dubious political barriers and outdated economic-political commitments, to our own detriment. The situation now is different and it is appropriate to react to it flexibly.

It is to be expected that all CEMA member states will try to compensate for the weakening of ties within the CEMA by broader ties with EEC member states. There is no need to stress what problems this will entail. The fruits cannot be expected immediately. However, there is no alternative because, as the British THE ECONOMIST put it, the "East European foreign trade ratios are about to collapse." If CEMA were to start using hard currency in its trade as early as 1991, inefficient production sectors (heavy industry, in particular) would have to be liquidated in one way or another. The subsidized imports of Soviet oil (based on long-term contracts) by the East European states and the purchase of their poor-quality products by the Soviet Union would come to an end. Should the same apply also to the export of Soviet energy, Hungary and Bulgaria would be hit the hardest, Czechoslovakia and the GDR less so. Poland would be fairly well off in this regard. Severely hit in the heavy engineering sector would be exporters of buses (Hungary), trucks (Czechoslovakia), and ships (Poland), to say nothing of those incapable of quickly converting arms manufacturing to civilian production.

The aforementioned British journal notes that with the CEMA countries' transition to dollar-based trade, to conditions under which there will not exist any artificial advantages for either partner, "the reasons why CEMA should exist will be gone." At the same time it draws attention to the fact that a certain mutual dependence has come about among member countries—such as, for example, the production of printing technology in the GDR—which will keep mutual trade at a considerably high level. This will be the case, in particular, because the transition of the East European countries toward extensive economic cooperation with the West is not possible immediately, in view of the different economic levels and the need to introduce the convertibility of their currencies, which will not be possible without considerable sacrifice. According to Minister Klaus, the Czechoslovak Government does not want to allow an inflation such as in Poland and it also wants to avoid other mistakes. It does not want any longer "socialism with a

human face" or the "mixed economy" of Ota Sik but a market economy in which the ability to compete will be decisive.

CSSR Official: No Rationale for CEMA Form

LD0901095490 Prague CTK in English 0749 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 9 (CTK)—There is no reason for the existence of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the present form, Josef Vejrosta, director of the Department for External International Relations of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium Office, told MLADA FRONTA today.

The East European countries are interlinked economically and commercially and these links cannot be removed in a day. This means that cooperation between these countries must continue but on a different basis. Replying on bilateral relations and respect for mutual advantageousness, Josef Vejrosta said.

Economic cooperation of CMEA states must be based on a full development of market mechanisms. The main axis must be direct relations between individual enterprises only minimally influenced by the state bodies. It is necessary to quickly elaborate a completely new CMEA statute without archaic formulations which are at sharp variance with the intentions of Czechoslovakia and other CMEA states, i.e. to open their economies to the world and develop effective cooperation above all with the advanced West European states, he underlined.

Bulgaria Proposes 'Radical Reform' in CEMA

AU0801140390 Sofia BTA in English 1128 GMT 8 Jan 90

["CMEA: Radical Reform and Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—Prof. Marin Popov, deputy secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, declares himself to be for the establishment of a new CMEA, for which the experience amassed by the European Communities can be of much help, all the more that the CMEA and the EC have already established useful contacts. In his article published in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO he says that the problems of the CMEA are very complicated and their solution will require political will.

Prof. Marin Petrov sees the renewal of the organization in implementing a radical reform of the integration mechanisms which in their present form bear the traits of the command-administrative system. In his opinion the future of the CMEA is in an interaction based on economic criteria, mutual interest and mutual advantage.

The importance of direct contacts between the producers of different countries is pointed out—contacts maintained by setting up joint enterprises, producers' associations, joint stockholding companies, socialist concerns and consortia, transnational socialist corporations, etc. A stress is laid on the necessity to improve the existing system of payments used by the CMEA member-countries. Without rejecting the idea of a total switch to payments in convertible currency, Prof. Marin Petrov considers that there should be a period of transition during which payments will be made in transferable rubles, national currencies and convertible currency and by using other forms of settling accounts.

The article draws attention to the processes of a more efficient inclusion of the CMEA in the world economy and the international economic organizations. In this connection the incomparably broader possibilities for cooperation with the EC and EFTA [European Free Trade Association] which have been opened now are pointed out.

Vienna Paper Reports Positions on CEMA

AU0901104890 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 9 Jan 90 p 15

[Werner Stanzl report from Berlin: "GDR Doubts Future of CEMA"]

[Text] "It is difficult to imagine how economic planing is to work on a supranational level if it does not even seem feasible at the national level." Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, sees "little future" in the continued existence of the East European economic community CEMA in its current form and expressed this in a talk about political principles with DER STANDARD.

He does not think that CEMA can be reformed and he assumes that it has to be replaced by a completely new "looser" set of agreements, which could be "more a contractually agreed free trade area."

GDR in Sofia in Waiting Position

This is also the guiding line which Modrow's transition government has adopted, the GDR Economics Ministry confirmed to DER STANDARD.

At the meeting in Sofia, the GDR primarily will listen to the reservations and proposals for improvement by other member states. Which position the GDR will adopt and which proposals it will contribute to the discussions depend on those.

Before the political reforms in Warsaw, Budapest, Prague, and Berlin, the GDR was considered as the strongest pillar of the fragile economic association; this is why one is aware of the special importance of all steps for the future of the whole community. Nevertheless, the GDR cannot ignore its own priorities for the future. They

become more important than ever because of the explicit lack of interest of some members in the economic alliance.

Exports to West Are Vital for Survival

Healthy economic sectors depend on primary exports to the West in order to improve their own foreign currency situation. In this respect, the chemical industry was mentioned especially, as it could not improve its production structures or start more low-waste production without close links with Western partners.

Chemistry has a key position in the GDR economy. It is the second largest industrial branch and 14 large combines, employing 337,000 people, are involved in it. They produce about one-fifth of the entire industrial goods production of the GDR. In 1987 this was M107.3 billion of a total of M533.4 billion. One-quarter of the GDR's chemical production is exported to the West; this proportion has to be raised if the environmental projects are to be implemented, the spokesman of the GDR Economics Ministry says. This gives rise to "compulsory priorities" over the wishes of the CEMA partners.

The list of problems which CEMA is to help to solve is "enormous": It ranges from the inefficiency of heavy industry to the ruined economy and to inflation in some member states and to the high debts in the West of all members. The long-term planning does not permit any reaction to short-term demands. Pricing for trade goods is hardly satisfactory for any member country. The production and development plans of the individual states are insufficiently coordinated. Ambitious large-scale projects in many countries cannot be used to their full capacity because of a lack of raw materials and demand. The planning bureaucracy has a will for survival that is "as tough as leather," the spokesman says.

Negative Poll

The GDR Government has analyzed the mood in the member states via its representations abroad in order to develop its own decisions. The results would favor the dissolution of CEMA. The USSR and Bulgaria count on new reforms of CEMA bureaucracy and of the calculation methods in trade.

The CSSR "basically" wants the dissolution of the economic community, which was founded in 1949, mainly because it was founded in line with the interests of the Soviet Union and only works for its benefit, "if one can use this word at all," the spokesman said. Poland has developed models of how the CEMA structures can be changed toward a market economy. The Modrow government does not think much of this. The same goes for Bulgaria's concepts of reform. It is expected in Berlin that Prague will reject these proposals.

EC 'Awaiting With Interest' CEMA Results

LD0901100490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0412 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Brussels, Jan 9 (TANJUG)—European Community (EC) circles are awaiting with interest the results of a session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), which opens here today.

The meeting will undoubtedly be one of the elements of the new "Eastern policy," which the twelve have been looking for following the political upheavals in this part of Europe.

After Some CMEA members demanded the disbanding of this organization, its existence has become uncertain, it is said in Brussels. It is believed that political changes will be followed by at least a revision of economic ties between the East European countries.

Links between the two European Economic blocs have never been close. Officially, they were established as late as June 1988.

The impression is that the twelve would not be overjoyed if CMEA met its end in Sofia, although EC would then use this as political proof of "who was in the right."

It is increasingly feared that CMEA's disappearence could create a void in Eastern economic structures hardly replacable in other ways in the near future.

Potential Restructuring of CEMA Discussed

AU0801153090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Jan 90 p 2

[Joerg Staude editorial: "CEMA—Break or Changes?"]

[Text] Recently, statements calling for changes in CEMA have become more frequent. On Thursday [4 January], CSSR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus noted that CEMA has no basic reason for existence anymore and its current form is not the one that was originally set down anyway. In contrast, the Polish Government spokeswoman came out in favor of CEMA, even though its structures have to be changed profoundly.

Be that as it may—one thing is certain: When the great majority of its member countries are now on the course of social renewal, the "old" CEMA practically no longer exists. However, the question remains: What is to replace it?

Assessing the situation soberly, one can see that the work of CEMA, too, was hindered by the obsolete centralist command system; its apparatus was much too cumbersome. Good intentions and concepts, like the comprehensive program for scientific-technical progress through the year 2000, did not have the desired effect. On the contrary: The technology backlog in comparison with the internationally leading countries increased.

These obstacles have to be eliminated; in 1989, there were already some hints about how this can be done. Specific cooperation will mainly take place directly between the respective economic units of the countries—combines and enterprises in our case. This cooperation will be completely determined by economic criteria, by mutually advantageous business. Creating favorable political and economic framework conditions for this is the task that will be faced by the governments of the individual member countries in the future. This includes the establishment of a common market, to be close to the international market, as well as an adjustment to the directions of socioeconomic development or coordinated actions in dealing with other international economic organizations.

All in all, the changes in CEMA must result in more intensive integration into the international division of labor. Naturally, thought and action are particularly concentrated on all-European cooperation. It is probably not utopian to believe that a common "workshop," a European technology community, can also have a room in the European home. Thus, one may wait attentively for the results of the CEMA Council session on 9 and 10 January.

Hungary's Medgyessy Discusses CEMA's Future

LD0801191790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Interview with Peter Medgyessy, deputy premier and permanent representative at CEMA, by correspondent Laszlo Gardai; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Gardai] You have said in NEPSZABADSAG that CEMA has become not viable and even a reorganization cannot promise success. What is left? What is the Hungarian concept?

[Medgyessy] The fundamental solution is that those countries which, in terms of their intention, want to introduce market mechanisms, want to open up to the world market, should speed up the process of integration on a smaller scale.

[Gardai] It is obvious that this would stem from the Czechoslovak-Polish-Hungarian system of relations. This begs the question of what should happen with the remaining CEMA frameworks?

[Medgyessy] There is very little that can be saved, regretfully. However, I think that in the present situation we cannot give up any kind of advantage. If it does not cause any harm in its present loose form, it must be left alone.

[Gardai] Does CEMA offer an advantage to Hungary today?

[Medgyessy] It does on some points—advantages in respect of standardization, in the direction of joint effort. This, by the way, coincides with the standardization endeavors of Europe—the environmental protection organization, certain programs which, to some extent, have made progress. I think that these need to be recognized but should be continued by CEMA using a much smaller apparatus and with reduced powers.

So, effectively, I think that we should talk about a two-tier CEMA system: a real internal circle that considers integration a fundamental endeavor and a reality and a wider circle that may or may not be able to catch up at a later stage.

[Gardai] To what extent do the partners know each other's plans, endeavors, and concepts?

[Medgyessy] There has not been much chance for us to coordinate. The Romanian Government was formed only a few days ago. Similarly, the Czechoslovak and GDR Governments were established only recently. Thus, there has been no chance to coordinate in advance.

[Gardia] The Soviet Union will not play a role in this smaller circle. How was this amendment or change received there?

[Medgyessy] I do not yet know how it is going to be received by them but we must be aware of one thing. That is, those countries close to each other in terms of level of development, economic and political endeavors, and size can best integrate with each other.

[Gardai] Hungary, for a number of years, has been suffering from the fact that it is a creditor to most CEMA countries. This situation needs to be changed somehow.

[Medgyessy] I think that a fundamental change must be affected. Conditions must be created in which money has a real value based on production, in which money is real. The transferable ruble is everything but real money.

[Gardai] On what basis can it be hoped that from now on the national interests will prevail in a way different to previous relations?

[Medgyessy] Fundamentally, from the fact that a completely new system has evolved in the various countries that were socialist until now. I think it follows from this that these interests will be given greater or even decisive emphasis and I am convinced that integration cannot exist without taking the national interest as the point of departure.

[Gardai] You will be the acting chairman of the [upcoming CEMA] meeting. To what extent can this whole consultation have an influence? Does this meeting matter at all?

[Medgyessy] It will matter especially now because it really is an historic opportunity of which we really must make use. Hungarians have always taken an initiating approach toward CEMA but, at the same time, we have had no result because a small country like ours, rather isolated, could not achieve much.

[Gardai] What is the most that can happen at the meeting?

[Medgyessy] I think the reality is that we should agree on a fundamental renewal and that in the coming months such work should commence as a result of which, in the course of a special CEMA session, the organization's fate can be finally decided.

MTI Interviews Medgyessy

LD0801203590 Budapest MTI in English 1919 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 8 (MTI)—As reported earlier, a Hungarian Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth left for Sofia early on Monday afternoon to attend the 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The delegation includes Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who gave an interview to MTI before his departure.

Q: In the Sofia consultation, the future of the CMEA will be at stake. In Monday's "NEPSZABADSAG" you said that all the good features should be preserved. Will there be a debate about what is good within the CMEA?

A: It will be a matter of keen debates since the views of the far eastern countries and Cuba will probably differ from those of the central European states and the Soviet Union. I think that, unfortunately, there are only few things to be preserved. In the current situation, however, it would be a political and economic luxury to renounce any advantage of the CMEA. Such advantages include the intention for standardization, the coordination of environmental protection and all programmes that showed some advance. They are small but very important advantages. If the CMEA does not cause any harm in its loose form, it must be preserved. We should make every effort to create and strengthen the small but genuine integration of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, countries that are introducing market-oriented reforms and turning towards the world market.

Q: Will the idea of an East European stock exchange be raised?

A: The countries should first establish their own commodity and monetary markets and stock exchanges. The international monetary market and stock exchange can only be created in parallel or subsequently. I would support and welcome the idea, but the realities should be considered in any case.

Q: Do you expect any advance towards decentralization and direct links between regions and companies?

A: Decentralization in the Soviet Union is a particularly important process since it is a huge country. It may yield great advantages if a republic, an autonomous region or their companies maintain direct links with Hungary and the Hungarian companies. It will not depend on us but on our partners which are still giving priority to centralization and administrative means.

Mazowiecki: CEMA Must Adapt to Market Economy

LD0801185690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, accompanied by a number of members of the government and a group of advisers and experts, today flew to Sofia for a CEMA meeting. Before departure, he gave a short interview:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr Premier, what proposals for changes in CEMA will you be putting forward in Sofia?

[Mazowiecki] We want this organization to adapt itself increasingly to the market economy situation existing in the majority of CEMA member countries and to be open to contacts with other economic groups, for example, the EEC. Our proposals will be along these lines, but I think they will require a certain period of reworking and discussion.

[Reporter] Can CEMA be saved at all? Is this not already a dead organization?

[Mazowiecki] Are not economic relations between the countries belonging to CEMA very important for all these countries? Like us, for instance, relations with the Soviet Union in the sphere of raw materials are very important. I do not judge this sort of regional accord to be a matter that is now only relegated to the past. On the other hand, it must be adapted to the introduction of a market economy.

[Reporter] In Moscow, you were the only noncommunist premier at the last CEMA meeting. Now there will be more such premiers. Will this have some significance?

[Mazowiecki] There will be, I believe, a greater pluralism reflected in CEMA. Above all, and what is more important, there will be a transition in these relations to interstate relations and not interparty relations. [end recording]

Expectations for Session

LD0901023190 Warsaw PAP in English 0000 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, Jan. 8—Asked about expectations of the Polish side connected with the session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) now starting in Sofia, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki told PAP as follows:

Poland, like some other countries-members of the CMEA, is turning to the market economy now. So we think that the rules of cooperation within the council should be radically altered. I think that the CMEA should, without delay, begin serious work to change the

present rules with a view to liberalizing them. This concerns both multi- and bilateral cooperation of CMEA members.

In our opinion, the direction is one: the market economy and the necessity to take into account the requirements of this economy on the international scale, both in relations between CMEA members and in those with countries of other economic groupings, and mainly the EC.

We nmust be more open to countries of other economic groupings. If we succeed in doing this, the CMEA will probably become a different organization. The changing of the name is not the most important thing in this respect. What is more important is to change the rules of CMEA's operation.

Foreign Delegations Arrive for CEMA Session

CSSR's Calfa Interviewed

LD0801203690 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Interview with Federal Premier Marian Calfa by unidentified Czechoslovak television correspondent in Prague on 8 January—recorded; Calfa speaks in Slovak]

[Text] A Czechoslovak delegation led by Federal Premier Marian Calfa left today for the 45th session of CEMA which starts in Sofia tomorrow. Other members of the delegation, also leading representatives of our government, are: Vadimir Dlouhy, Frantisek Reichel, Vaclav Klaus, and Andrej Barcak. Before his departure, Marian Calfa granted an interview to Czechoslovak television:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] The 45th CEMA session in Sofia will be a true test, a key session. Mr Premier, with what ideas, with what proposals are you going to Sofia?

[Calfa] There have been a number of unclear points in recent days concerning this CEMA session; I therefore would like to say responsibly that neither the Czechoslovak Government nor any of its members have proposed nor will propose the dissolution of CEMA—this is the first thing. Naturally, we are going there with very fundamental proposals for changing the function and activity of CEMA. In Czechoslovakia, the internal political situation has changed. Czechoslovakia has adopted a certain open attitude toward world economies and all this has to be reflected both in the activity of CEMA and the activity of Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovakia's participation in CEMA activities. CEMA in its present, closed, regional form is no longer suitable for us. We envisage putting forward such changes so that the organization will become an open organization that will allow all its states to integrate into the world economy. At the same time, we are going there with a proposal to reassess the mutual granting of credits with possible ideological motivation. We simply want the money of our working people to be used, to be lent for such things that not only bring advantage to those who receive them but also, naturally, to us who are granting them. All this means that we will propose a fundamental change in the status of CEMA for these things to be implemented fully.

The Soviet Union at the same time has proposed discussing the transition of our economies, our mutual relations to accounting in free currencies and at world prices. This proposal, which will fundamentally change the picture of our mutual cooperation, is for us, in principle, advantageous as it also proceeds from our visions of joining in the world economy and will assist this joining. However, in such volumes which the Soviet Union supplies to us—above all oil and gas—we will have to come to some agreement whether such accounting will be possible because these are vast quantities, these are vast means, and we have to calculate what this will do to our state's economy.

To sum up: we are going to Bulgaria with proposals for the fundamental restructuring of CEMA activities into a modern economic organization that will assist its members states in integrating into the world economy. [end recording]

Various Foreign Delegations

AU0801214290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] The following delegations arrived in Sofia tonight to participate in the 45th CEMA Session:

The delegation from Vietnam, headed by Vo Van Kiet, first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; the GDR delegation, headed by Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers; the delegation from Mongolia, headed by Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers; the delegation from Poland, headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers; the delegation from Romania headed by Prime Minister Petre Roman; the delegation from the USSR, headed by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers; the delegation from Czechoslovakia, headed by Marian Calfa, and from Hungary, headed by Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The delegation from Cuba, headed by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the State and Ministers Councils, is expected to arrive later.

GDR's Modrow on Goals

LD0801205190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1956 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—The GDR delegation to the 45th CEMA meeting arrived in the Bulgarian capital of Sofia this afternoon. It is headed by Premier Hans Modrow.

It is the GDR's intention, Modrow told ADN after his arrival, to contribute to a more intensive economic cooperation in CEMA, and to instill a new quality into

the growing exchange of experiences. "We assume here that the deepening of cooperation in CEMA must be affected in conjunction with the active participation of the individual countries in the worldwide division of labor.

CEMA 'De-Stalinization' Session Opens 9 Jan

AU0901085890 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 9 Jan 90

["45th CMEA Session: Beginning of Economic Destalinization"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—After two postponements during the eight most stormy months in its history, the 45th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance started here today.

This will be not only the mostly delayed but also the most expected session of the CMEA as the pressure of the European CMEA member states for destalinization cannot be held back any more. On the eve of the opening the leaders of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary made most radical demands for reforms. For years now the USSR and Bulgaria are searching for new in principle methods of economic cooperation and after the changes in Romania it is hardly possible that its representatives will remain on its former positions.

Because of these and other reasons the agenda of the session was not announced clearly on the two preliminary press-conferences but there is no doubt that the attention will focus on the basic principles of cooperation.

The delegations of the member-states are headed by: Mr Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary, Mr Vo Van Kiet, first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of Vietnam, Mr Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of Cuba, Mr Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Mongolia, Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, Mr Petre Roman, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Romania, Mr Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr Marian Calfa, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Czechoslovakia, Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria.

The session is attended also by a delegation of Yugoslavia and by representatives of Angola, Afghanistan, PDR Yemen, Laos, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Nicaragua.

The session was opened by Mr Georgi Atanasov.

Atanasov Speech Opens Session

AU0901121390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The 45th CEMA Session opened about 3 hours ago at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia. The participating countries' delegations are led by heads and deputy heads of government. A special crew of Khorizont Program is following the session. Petko Georgiev is among them. He just returned and reports from the studio:

[Georgiev] According to an old tradition, the session's meetings are closed. All journalists were allowed to the hall only for the official opening. I recorded the opening speech of Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, for our listeners. This is part of it:

[Begin Atanasov recording] The present session coincides with CEMA's 40th anniversary. Anniversaries have always been a reason not only for assessing the past, but also for analyzing the urgent problems and outlining the prospects and tasks of future development. This particularly applies to the present session. It is taking place under conditions of profound renewal in CEMA member countries. I am deeply convinced that the session will have pivotal importance in our economic organization's work.

The objective analysis of the unfavorable phenomena that are taking place in the system of mutual cooperation shows that they reflect negative processes in CEMA member countries' socioeconomic development. Therefore, we deeply believe that further developing cooperation and economic integration are directly related to the radical reforms that are developing in CEMA member countries.

I would like to express hope that the present session will contribute to turning CEMA into an efficient organization. Allow me to wish fruitful work to all delegations that are taking part in the 45th CEMA Session. I hereby open the 45th CEMA Session. [end recording]

[Georgiev] I think that all of the past 44 CEMA sessions have been opened with the last sentence, which is a matter of protocol. However, today hardly anybody doubts the fact that the 45th CEMA session will be different. For many of the CEMA governmental leaders, the Sofia meeting is the first opportunity to establish personal contact. Perhaps that is why the observers are exceptionally careful with their preliminary forecasts. However, there is an unanimous conviction, which was also pointed out in our premier's introductory speech that without profound and radical reforms, the CEMA's future is unthinkable.

On the eve of the session many commentators pondered the possibility of discontinuing CEMA's activity, or the possibility that CEMA members could leave the organization. They relied on the statement of CSSR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus. Therefore, during the brief moments before the beginning of the session, the CSSR

delegation was closely surrounded by journalists with microphones and TV cameras.

The CSSR representative asserted that the statement on his country leaving CEMA is greatly exaggerated. Many of the correspondents express the conviction that the current exceptionally difficult stage of economic development, in which all CEMA members find themselves, can be overcome only by creating a new efficient and active mechanism of cooperation based on the actual interests of all participants. The statements of the leaders of the delegations, which will take place today, will probably follow that direction.

After the end of the meetings, we shall have a news conference with the leaders of all delegations, when we shall perhaps learn more about the session. We shall report immediately afterward.

USSR Premier Ryzhkov Meets BCP Politburo

AU0901075690 Sofia BTA in English 2207 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—This evening members and alternate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] held a meeting with Mr Nikolay Ryzhkov, Politburo member of the CC of the CPSU and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The sides briefed each other on the state of affairs in the two fraternal countries.

Mr Petur Mladenov discussed in detail the situation in Bulgaria and the tasks which the BCP and the party and the state leadership are solving. He stressed that the country resolutely embarked on the road of restructuring on November 10, 1989 and that political life had become exceedingly dynamized in the very short period of time since then.

Analyzing the situation which has arisen from the many years of supremacy of the command-and-administer system, the secretary general of the CC of the BCP evaluated the complicated processes and the ways which the BCP along with the entire people is seeking to solve the problems. He noted the novelties in political life: the emergence of new political forces, the beginning of roundtable discussions, the wide-ranging national dialogue seeking solutions and the appearance of a political opposition. He emphasized that the BCP will not give up the road it has taken: a road of building a democratic society committed to the rule of law.

Having briefed his guest on the resolutions of the December 29, 1989 Plenum of the CC of the BCP and more specifically on the restoration of rights to the Turkish-speaking and the Muslim population and on the peculiar political situation which has emerged in the country since then, Mr Petur Mladenov stressed that by surmounting resolutely the difficulties along the road of renewal, the BCP adheres to a policy of wide-ranging dialogue and search for national concord.

Mr Nikolay Ryzhkov conveyed cordial greetings from Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership to the Bulgarian leadership. He said that the Soviet Union follows closely the processes in Bulgaria and is well aware of their roots and nature because similar processes unfold in the USSR and other socialist countries.

The Soviet head of government briefed his hosts on the state of political and economic affairs in the USSR and emphasized that 1989 was a period of serious tests for Soviet society. Still, despite the enormous difficulties the Soviet people emerged from the old year with more experience in democratization which requires much greater political awareness and more strenuous efforts from the party and from society as a whole.

He considered the main political and economic problems which the Soviet Union is solving now: ownership, the new economic mechanism, the annual socioeconomic program and the provision of adequate market supplies. He made a special point of interethnic relations which are exceedingly complicated and which the CPSU tries to address with utmost consideration and tactfulness, taking into account both the interests of the individual nationalities and the interests of all Soviet people.

Mr Ryzhkov stressed that the key political event of the year in the USSR will be the 28th CPSU Congress. He pointed out that Soviet Communists realize that without a reform consistent with the present-day conditions the party will not retain its leading role. New approaches are needed and the CPSU is preparing a new platform which will be submitted for nationwide debate.

The participants in the meeting expressed the shared conviction that there is no alternative to restructuring, that the two fraternal parties pursue a similar strategic policy line of renewal and enrichment of socialism. It is precisely on this basis that the BCP and the CPSU, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union will be seeking the best ways to further their friendly ties and traditional relations.

Mladenov-Ryzhkov Meeting

AU0901080090 Sofia BTA in English 2201 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, today received Mr Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who arrived here for the session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which opens tomorrow.

The sides commended highly the promotion of relations between the two fraternal countries and reaffirmed the ascertainment made at last year's meeting between Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev that parallel with the progress of restructuring, bilateral relations

receive a fresh impetus for extension in all fields: politics, economics, scientific and technical advances and inter-party ties.

Economic cooperation was the centerpiece of the nearly one-hour session. The two leaders discussed some fundamental aspects of economic interaction in which there is room for improvement. They shared the understanding that long-term ways have to be sought now to meet the requirements and the interests of the two countries.

The sides agreed that Bulgaro-Soviet economic cooperation should be reformed on the basis of a socialist market mechanism which will boost the promotion of relations and will open up fresh opportunities for still more profitable interaction.

The shared conviction was expressed that the existence and the activity of the CMEA is useful and that it should be resolutely overhauled. The sides noted the importance of the CMEA session which begins tomorrow at a time of vigorous changes in the socialist countries.

Mazowiecki Wants Warsaw Pact Changed

OW0701125290 Tokyo KYODO in English 1232 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7 KYODO—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki on Sunday expressed his strong desire to promote the integration of Europe and East-West harmonization following democratic reforms in Eastern Europe.

Mazowiecki said his country is determined to take the initiative in promoting economic and political reforms in East European countries in an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE prior to the scheduled visit of Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu.

"I am interested in expanding cooperation on a Pan-European scale and the realization of a United Europe," he said.

He called for active Japanese investment in joint ventures in Poland as a production base in Europe. "Poland can be a bridge between Japan and Europe as our country is located close to Western Europe."

Mazowiecki visited Japan in 1981 as a member of a Solidarity Trade Union delegation.

"Japan should provide different kinds of economic cooperation to Poland than the West," he said.

He particularly requested Japanese aid in the fields of banking, finance, electronics and communications.

Mazowiecki stressed that political and economic reforms in his country are far more advanced than other East European nations and said "restructuring" is supported by Polish people.

He also pointed to the necessity of changing the Warsaw Pact as an organization promoting political rather than military cooperation.

He said international relations among socialist countries have entered a new era based on national equality rathern than party-to-party relations.

Correction to Medgyessy on CEMA Reorganization

LD0801135790

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Hungarian Official Proposes CEMA Reorganization," published in the 8 January East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 4:

Paragraph one, first sentence, make read: ...of the daily NEPSZABADSAG. The article written... (changing newspaper name)

Refugees Report Executions, Human Rights Abuses

NC0801174190 Paris AFP in English 1712 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Athens, Jan 8 (AFP)—Albania's government has ordered convicts to be hanged in public in a bid to avert anti-Communist demonstrations or defection, members of the country's Greek minority said here Monday.

Executed prisoners were seen hanging on the gallows for a week in the towns of Fier, Durrsi, and Vlora, the Association of Greeks from northern Epirus, said at a press conference given by a dozen refugees.

"Crimes committed in Albania are worse than in Romania," the movement's chairman, Kostas Ghigas, said, referring to excesses attributed to the secret police of Romania's late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

Vlassios Sokratidhis, another representative of Albania's ethnic Greeks, said the Communist government continued to "violate human rights and bully Albania's 400,000 Greeks and all Albanians" in the country of three million despite sweeping changes in Eastern Europe.

Mr. Sokratidhis would not confirm reports of recent incidents in Tirana, Albania's capital, and the city of Scodra.

Ethnic Greeks from Albania called on all Greek parties to stand up for the observance of human rights in Albania.

Albanian refugees and Greek supporters are to march to the Albanian embassy here Thursday to shout out their demands.

Albanian Ambassador to Greece Izedin Hadjini said last Wednesday Albania was not part of East Europe and Soviet-style "perestroyka does not concern" the country.

"We believe that changes in East Europe are being made under Moscow's instructions," he added.

Mr. Hadjini also slammed changes brought about by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev as a "betrayal of communism aimed at bringing back capitalism".

Speakers at the press conference also slammed the alleged killing of four ethnic Greek brothers identified as Kostas, Yiorgos, Takis and Odhisseas Prassou which was recently revealed by the Archbishop of Athens and Primate of the Greek-Orthodox Church, Serafim.

An anonymous letter from Albania saying the four were killed was shown at the press conference.

The Albanian embassy here rejected the report last Friday showing a videotape to reporters purporting to show the four brothers celebrating Christmas in their village.

A committee supporting ethnic Greeks in Albania called on the government in Tirana to authorize visits by Red Cross officials, human rights organizations and Greek journalists to investigate the claims.

The four brothers should also be allowed to join members of their family living in the United States after meeting with United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, committee members said.

Seventy Albanians, including 48 ethnic Greeks, have asked for political asylum in Greece since 1987.

TANJUG Allegation of Killings Denied

AU0601124790 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Tirana, January 6 (ATA)—As it is reported, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania, on December 16, 1989, dismissed the news spread by the Yugoslav news agency, TANJUG, on the alleged torturing and killing of four Albanian citizens from the Greek minority, considered them as fabrications and stressed that nothing of the sort had happened.

In spite of this official denial, TANJUG and some other newspapers continue to repeat with zeal the same fabrication.

In connection with this, the Albanian Embassy in Athens showed today for the Greek journalists and the representatives of different countries a TV chronicle, filmed on the night of December 31 in the Pepel village of Dropull, in the family of the four Prasos brothers, who, together with their parents, were celebrating joyfully the New Year. The sequences of the film witness how absurd and ridiculous are the statements of those that fabricated the so-called tragic killing of the four Prasos brothers.

Chairman Gyyzari Presents 1990 Plan to Assembly

AU0401152690 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Dec 89 p 1-3

[Report by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, presented in the name of the Council of Ministers to the People's Assembly on 27 December; place not given: "On the Fulfillment of the 1989 Plan and the Main Tasks of the Draft Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture in 1990"]

[Text] Comrade deputies, this session of the People's Assembly is devoted to accounting for our achievements and tasks in the country's economic and cultural development in 1989-90, the last 2 years of the eighth 5-year period. It is conducting its proceedings during the noteworthy events celebrating the 45th anniversary of the homeland's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution. This gives us the opportunity to emphasize the decisive role of long-term and annual plans regarding the material and spiritual development of our society on the road of socialism.

Under the party's determined and farsighted leadership, with the united energies of the people, and with organized labor, the last 4-and-1/2 decades have entirely transformed the structure of the economy and society, multiplying productive capacity, guaranteeing the country's independence, and giving people a life of dignity. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, "Socialism has shown itself to be the most effective social order in our people's history. This way of life and production has increased the country's economic strength, has radically changed the people's way of life and prosperity, and has created exemplary economic and political stability."

Every one of our plans has represented a step forward toward new horizons, progress, more complete emancipation, and more secure freedom. However, life's logic shows that increase the levels of progress also increases the demands made of the plans we draft and approve, calling for more work, skills, organization, and practicality in attaining the goals set by these plans. The Council of Ministers and the authorities of the state and economy at all levels have viewed the achievements of the past year, and the new tasks we are setting for ourselves for the coming year are based on this review. They have also kept in mind that these 2 years are organically tied to the eighth 5-year period which is now coming to an end and the new 5-year period whose drafting now lies ahead of us. The current session of the People's Assembly, therefore, lays special stress on our country's present and future.

We point out with satisfaction that the achievements of this jubilee year of 1989 have been the highest of this 5-year period. The economy has taken new steps forward. The social product and national incomes have scored high growth rates, the country's financial and foreign currency resources have risen, the program of capital investments has made progress, the incomes of the populace have grown, and the supply of the market with food and industrial goods has improved.

In accordance with the principles of our foreign policy, our relations and cooperation with other states were even further extended in many ways in 1989. Our exchanges with various countries clearly reflect our country's readiness for more intensive relations and expanded cooperation in the political, economic, trading, technological, scientific, and cultural spheres with many states of the world. Our interests demand, and our productive capacities permit, a further strengthening of this trend in our relations with neighboring states of Europe, the Mediterranean, and so forth, in fields of common interest, on the basis of freedom and noninterference in each other's domestic affairs.

Socialist Albania closely follows the current situation in the world, which as a whole is complex and turbulent. It will always make its contribution to efforts in the cause of peace and security in the Balkans and the world at large.

I. On the Fulfillment of the 1989 Plan

At the fourth session of the People's Assembly, when we approved the tasks of the state plan and budget for 1989, we stressed the need for general mobilization and an increasingly militant spirit of mass action among urban and rural working people in order to fulfill the plan's tasks. Now that the year is ending, we take stock of our work and we can say with total conviction and satisfaction that the advanced thinking of the masses was stimulated to act on the party's guidelines and teachings; their revolutionary initiatives erupted and met with support, and experience was gained in the rational use of the country's financial, material, and foreign currency resources, in the balanced development of the economy, and in increasing the driving power of economic relations.

In 1989, compared with 1988, the social product increased by more than six percent, and national incomes by 10 percent. A correct balance among the indices that reflect the economy was struck. National and financial incomes rose at a faster rate than the social product. Funds for accumulation grew more than funds for consumption, and production for society more than production for the individual. Compared with 1988, real average incomes per head of population rose by two percent in the towns and 4.6 percent in the countryside.

In 1989, the extent of industrial processing and the economic assessment of the country's natural resources rose as a result of a more efficient use of existing productive capacity and the introduction of a new capacity. Targets in the extraction of copper ore, in the production of copper wire and cables, in ferro-nickel extraction, and in the production of chemical fertilizer, machinery and equipment, and some light industry and food products were met and exceeded. New sources of gas were discovered in Durres, Panaje, and Delvine. Careful work was carried out to procure and process arable and animal products, and to increase range, improve quality, and make production more effective. Compared with 1989, industrial production rose by 5.6 percent. The districts of Tirana, Korce, Durres, Kukes, Lezhe, Gjirokaster, and so forth were particularly distinguished.

The nine percent increase in agricultural production is a success of particular value. Planned targets were reached in the production and yield of sugar beet, two-rowed barley, and sunflowers. Many districts, such as Korce, Kruje, Lezhe, Pogradec, Tirana, Shkoder, Gjirokaster, and some others recorded substantial success in wheat production. The districts of Sarande, Shkoder, Vlore, Elbasan, and Puke were outstanding in corn production, while Fier and Lushnje produced results in bean and tobacco production. All these results testify not only to the efforts of the working peasantry in these districts, but to the reserves and resources we have for increasing production and yields in every crop and in every part of the country.

Better work was done in stockraising to add to the number of head and increase dairy production, especially in consolidating the collective herds. New small herds were created in about 1,000 brigades, with more than 10,000 cows, 175,000 small livestock, and 35,000 pigs. Milk production from the collective herds increased by 40 percent, while potato and bean production almost doubled; a fact which had its influence on further improving the milk, vegetable, potato, and bean supply for the cooperative peasantry.

In 1989, in the course of the masses' revolutionary movements and initiatives, mass actions were carried out to finish and commission ahead of schedule several important projects, to introduce machinery and equipment in different branches of the economy, and to improve the effectiveness of the social product. The first furnace of the Elbasan ferro-chrome plant, the Lac sulphuric acid plant, the Klos chrome enrichment plant, the chrome enrichment plant at Golaj near Kukes, the extension to the Tirana china works, the Durres ready-made clothing factory, and several irrigation schemes were or are being inaugurated. Work on the Banje hydroelectric complex and the Fier urea plant is proceeding as promised, while 365 new water utilities were inaugurated and the water supply to 25 other villages was improved. More than 9,000 apartments were built. Material expenditure for every 100 leks of the social product was reduced in comparison with 1988. The social labor productivity target was reached, and about 47 percent of the increase in the social product is due to improved productivity.

The development of productive forces was also better supported this year by measures to refine production relations. New forms of labor remuneration were introduced, and incentives for above-plan production in agriculture and other branches of the economy were extended. There were improvements in the oil sector through incentives to commission ahead of schedule wells with exploitable quantities of oil and gas. Incentives to exceed the plan were also introduced in road haulage, trade, and export production. In the textile and knitwear industry, a wage system according to job category was introduced, job categories were more narrowly defined, and an experiment with four 6-hour shifts is being conducted. The criteria and responsibilities of state and economic bodies in fixing prices and standards are being reviewed with the aim of increasing the role of state and economic bodies in the districts and at the base.

In order to increase the initiative of the masses in drafting and enforcing plans, planning responsibilities in agriculture will be wider in 1990, and the base will be given the task merely of delivery to the state. Planning responsibilities in the food industry will also be wider, while the production of some primary articles will remain centralized. Studies were be carried out on refining various aspects of our economic and financial system.

The data we have presented and which show the rate of our economy's development in 1989 testify clearly to the great vitality of our people, the line of the party, and our socialist order. This year's fine achievements and the continued readiness of the working masses to shoulder the largest tasks have been and remain a major incentive for building on these achievements next year.

In its repeated analyses of the rate of plan fulfillment in 1989, the Council of Ministers has placed emphasis on identifying and fully exploiting unused opportunities and domestic reserves and refining economic levers and mechanisms in order to pave the way for the initiative of the masses and for sound economic thinking and logic. However, there should have been a more effective struggle against administrative measures of economic management through a more effective use of economic levers and methods, against the toleration of shortcomings and weaknesses, and against the apathy and routine that have not uncommonly taken root in some ministries, other central institutions, and the executive committees of district people's councils. The State Planning Commission, the State Control Commission, the Ministry of Finance, and the General Directorate of the State Bank should also have taken a more active part in quickly solving problems that emerged during the implementation of the plan, in order to mobilize internal reserves and prevent occasional negative tendencies evident in the course of economic processes.

Having analyzed the 1989 results with a great sense of its responsibility, the Council of Ministers has reached the conclusion that, in such a situation of revolutionary mobilization and atmosphere of mass action as has prevailed this year, the lack of achievements observed in some main sectors of the economy, districts, and working collectives are inexplicable as anything other than the results of weaknesses in the direction, organization, and control of some ministries, state and economic bodies in the districts and at the base.

The lack of achievements in the oil and chrome industries have been significant, and have involved shortcomings in the work of geological and mining institutions, administrative bodies, and the relevant research institutes. These defects and weaknesses have been reflected in the poor effectiveness of measures to stabilize and increase oil and gas production from the active stock of wells, a low coefficient of success in new wells, the slow preparation of reserves for exploitation, and delays in explaining the geological situation, especially in Bulqize, and so forth. Oil and chrome are among the principal pillars of our economy and shortfalls in these products have negative effects which are important for the whole country. The Ministry of Industry, Mines, and Energy, the relevant enterprises and institutions, and the Executive Committees of the People's Councils of Fier, Vlore, Berat, Lushnje, Diber, and Mat must, therefore, act more vigorously to overcome the state of affairs that has arisen as soon as possible.

Agriculture experienced a higher rate of growth in production, but this is only one-half of the tasks of the plan. This branch is also, therefore, responsible for a very large deficit in the social product. Lack of achievements in agriculture have mainly been a result of substandard work on the part of state and economic bodies in the districts of Fier, Lushnje, Berat, Diber, and so forth in ensuring sowing at the best possible time, especially in the cases of wheat and cotton. Poor organization in harvesting and drying and the failure to closely follow agro-technical instructions have had an influence on the evident nonfulfillments in tobacco. Shortfalls were also created in animal products, both because of an inadequate number of head, and low yields from these animals in milk, meat, eggs, and so forth. The help and supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture and the scientific research institutes should have been more evident and active to ensure that all planned targets were met.

There were also nonfulfillments in the production of some common consumer goods, a fact which doubtless had its effect on supplies to the people. These were most marked in textiles, knitwear, kitchen utensils, glass, shoes, cheeses, butter, starch, and so forth. Of course, a basic factor in these nonfulfillments was the supply of domestic and imported raw materials, but the industrial production bodies, the Ministry of Light Industry, and the Ministry of the Food Industry also have their own responsibility, and should have used more effectively the raw materials available to them.

It goes without saying that the shortcomings in the main ministries of industry and agriculture led to a failure to fulfill planned exports by several tens of millions of dollars. However, the foreign trade bodies should also have shown more enterprise in securing markets, cutting imports, and encouraging favorable economic exchanges.

The party has always taught us to learn lessons not only from advanced experience, but from nonfulfillments. With this in mind, the Council of Ministers has instructed the ministries, the executive committees of district people's councils, and state and economic bodies at the base to conduct a critical analysis of this year's failings and shortcomings, and to determine and implement effective measures to meet every target of next year's economic and financial plan.

II. The Draft Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture in 1990

Comrades, the foundation of the 1990 draft plan is the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and the plenums held since the congress. It reflects the many valuable thoughts and proposals of working masses, workers, cooperativists, cadres, specialists, innovators, and rationalizers throughout the country. Their wide and active participation testifies to the party's extensive work for the all-round political, ideological, professional, and scientific education of our people and to the real democracy offered by our socialist order, in which the people themselves discuss and decide such important issues as plans for the country's economic and cultural development. It must, nevertheless, be stressed that some administrations in enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, executive bodies of the state, ministries, and so forth have been permitted disproportionate and premature demands which our economy cannot at present meet.

Therefore, bearing in mind the importance of drafting a balanced plan, well-argued in all its parts, the Council of Ministers has, in contrast to previous occasions, considered the 1990 draft plan not only as a whole, but part by part, which has provided the opportunity for an extensive debate on finding effective measures to solve the difficult problems involved in implementing the plan. In determining these measures and deciding rates of progress, the Council of Ministers has used as its starting points the opportunities and necessary requirements for the development of expanded socialist reproduction, for meeting the needs of the people, and for the country's defense.

In comparison with the draft plan for economic development which was distributed to deputies, as a result of the analysis and suggestions offered by all the permanent commissions of the People's Assembly, improvements have been made in the growth of the social product, in increasing national incomes, and in increasing exports and reducing imports and investments, which the Council of Ministers consider proper and which are reflected in the reworked draft law.

Permit me, comrade deputies, to present to you the main targets for the development of the economy and culture in 1990.

In comparison with 1989, the social product is expected to grow by 7.9 percent, national incomes by 8.2 percent, real incomes per head of population by 3.4 percent, industrial production by 8.6 percent, agricultural production by 15 percent, the volume of investments by 1.4 percent, exports by 33.4 percent, retail turnover by 5.1 percent, and social labor productivity by 4.4 percent.

Following the analysis of the results of the first 4 years of the eighth 5-year period, the Council of Ministers has also laid down certain composite objectives and tasks for 1990, on which it will especially concentrate its attention.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha taught us, the starting point for our plans is the working man and the fulfillment of his growing needs. On the basis of this principle, further improvements in supplies to the people are expected in 1990. The stocks of food and consumer goods will be greater and more firmly guaranteed. As a result, there will also be improvements in the consumption of many items per head of population. In order to meet this increase, imports are expected to rise by 88 million leks in comparison with 1989.

There will also be improvements in supplies to the peasantry, relying on more work with the brigades' small herds and fields. In 1990, the peasantry, kindergartens, nurseries, and canteens will be supplied with milk, meat, beans, and potatoes entirely from the small herds and fields, and not at all from collective production. It is important to achieve this separation from collective production by increasing the supply of milk to the peasantry by 23 percent, meat by 11 percent, beans by 12 percent, and potatoes by 67 percent, in comparison with 1989.

In comparison with the levels expected for 1989, the urban population will be supplied with 12 percent more fresh milk, 17 percent more cheese, 12 percent more meat, 11 percent more potatoes, 4 percent more beans, and 7 percent more eggs. The populace will also be supplied with more industrial articles, such as 12 percent more furniture, 15 percent more knitwear, 23 percent more socks, 22 percent more shoes, 41 percent more cotton textiles and other fabrics, and 19 percent more soap and detergent.

The Council of Ministers will take every measure to ensure that problems of supplying the people will be given priority treatment by all state and economic bodies at every level. Every district (except for Tirana District) will meet its own needs for vegetables, potatoes, beans, milk and dairy products, and meat and meat products. To achieve this, it is necessary for producing and domestic trade bodies to exploit all the major reserves and opportunities that exist in the collective and personal sectors of the agricultural cooperatives of every district.

The export-import draft plan reflects the tasks laid down by the sixth party Central Committee plenum. Exports will constitute 10.7 percent of the total social product, compared with 8.8 percent in 1989. The balance of payments will rely on more firmly guaranteed production and a greater export commitment from different branches of the economy. In comparison with the 1989 plan, exports of agricultural produce will rise by 53 percent, which represents a mere 1.4 percent of the produce of the total land under cultivation, and does not affect the tasks set for increasing the supply of the people with these products. Exports using materials supplied by the customer will rise 3.3 times, and exports of the engineering industry seven times. Exports of medicinal herbs are planned to rise by 50 percent to a planned target of $30 million.

The Council of Ministers is convinced that, despite these relatively large increases, every opportunity exists to increase production and exports and to fulfill these tasks. To achieve this, everybody must realize that our struggle to develop the economy is not easy when we bear in mind not only our subjective difficulties but the extremely complicated situation in which we are building socialism.

This situation demands that we should all master our tasks and find sources and opportunities for development, setting in motion the physical and intellectual creative energies of our people in order to boost exports everywhere, with the aim that no producing or nonproducing collective should be left without duties in the export-import field. It is the duty of our managing cadres and specialists at the base and the center to activate these reserves and act on these opportunities as soon as possible with energetic work in management.

The very great difficulties facing us, the obstacles in work we encounter in some important sectors of the economy, and the problems of the country's balance of payments cannot be overcome with everyday work, routine methods, or an easy-going tempo. Every individual, each in his own job, and every working collective must think how to find new opportunities and blaze new trails, opening new horizons of development. There has been no lack of positive experience in this direction. Many working collectives have provided this by significantly surpassing their production and export targets this year.

Further intensifying production next year calls for increased efficiency, especially in reducing material costs. The main way this will be achieved will be by reducing costs by 112 million leks. It is anticipated that expenditure can be reduced by 90 million leks through improving the efficient use of raw materials.

The increase in the absolute size of the social product will also lead to an increase in embodied labor. We are faced with the task of associating this trend with a relative reduction in the use of raw materials, supplementary materials, fuel, and electrical energy, in order to reduce costs per product unit.

Increasing production efficiency, which has been showing a tendency to fall in some branches of the economy, remains a problem for 1990. As a result of planning a lower level of production in comparison with the 1989 plan in oil and chrome extraction and fishing and other sea products, production costs are also expected to rise.

For 1990, it is planned that increased labor productivity will be more correctly harmonized with the absorption of active members of the population into useful work. General industrial production, construction and assembly, and services to the people will grow more than twice as fast as the number of working people. This task will be 70 percent fulfilled by improvements in the socialist organization of labor and the fuller use of existing productive capacities, and 30 percent by an increased level of mechanization.

In order to fulfill the tasks promoting efficiency in the economy, the Council of Ministers has established special working groups to investigate and prescribe measures to be taken in order to save electrical energy, steel, and timber, to simplify projects, and reduce imports.

These tasks have also been set before state and economic bodies and will be implemented next year.

The development of the material production and sociocultural sectors also relies on the investment program, for which 4.8 billion leks are planned in 1990. Investment in the productive sector will account for 83.4 percent of total investments, and the nonproductive sector 16.6 percent. The expansion and reconstruction of production centers will account for 20 percent of total investments.

Work will be carried out on 218 main projects in 1990, of which 38 will be new. In all, 96 projects, including 60 productive plants, will be completed and commissioned, and 63 others partially commissioned. We have taken care to avoid multiplication in building new projects, and requests from ministries and districts for productive and nonproductive projects have not been taken into account in the submitted draft plan. However, the executive committees of district people's councils may use their own judgment to make changes in productive and nonproductive projects, quite apart from the plan sent by the ministries.

Among the most important projects which will be completed in 1990 are two additional furnaces at the Elbasan ferrochrome works, the urea factory at Fier, the first part of the extension to the Shkoder wire works, the wood-paneling production plant at Elbasan, some new chrome and copper mines, the Berat yarn works, the Vlore brewery, the Shkoder flour mill, and the Lushnje and Lac refrigeration plants. The Ministry of Construction, building on the experience acquired this year, will intensify cooperation with the investing ministries and further spread the method of mass action in order to accelerate the schedules of the most important projects.

Formidable but entirely feasible tasks have been planned for the development of industrial production, especially in mineral extraction and processing.

In 1990, in comparison with 1989, oil and gas extraction are expected to be 16.4 percent higher, electricity generation 18 percent, and coal production 6 percent higher. The development of the energy sector will rely 98 percent on existing sources of oil and 100 percent on existing sources of coal. The Council of Ministers will keep a close watch on these sensitive sectors of the economy and, with the material and technical base provided for in the draft plan, will demand that the Ministry of Industry, Mining, and Energy, and the General Oil Directorate and its subsidiary bodies refine their organization and management and enforce strict technical discipline at work, so that the tasks of the day, month, and year are fulfilled. However, all consumers must also further reduce their consumption of solid and liquid fuels.

The extraction of rich chrome will rise by 25 percent, of ferronickel by seven percent, and of copper by six percent. These increases rely on ready and prepared reserves, as well as the opening and inauguration of some new mines and sectors. Special care will be devoted particularly to chrome extraction and the production of concentrate. This branch will receive more support in geological research, mechanization, treatment of workers, and so forth.

In iron and steel production, in comparison with 1989, the production of sheet steel will rise by 7 percent, of alkaline nickel carbonate by 18 percent, and carbonic ferrochrome by 55 percent. These advances will rely on the expanded ferrochrome production from the commissioning of the new works at Elbasan, improved recuperation and greater technological reserves in the factories, and improvements to be made in the structure of production.

In the chemical sector, the production of chemical fertilizer will rise by 170,000 tonnes on the basis of the commissioning of the urea works and the expansion of the superphosphate works. The production of calcinated soda, pesticides, etc. is also expected to rise through the better exploitation of productive capacities which have experienced particularly acute problems this year.

The engineering industry has planned to make improvements in the structure of its production. For instance, more spare parts will be produced for the needs of agriculture, transportation, and so forth. Export targets will be raised and a mass action will put new machinery to use. The engineering industry will work better to improve quality, especially of spare parts, and will take comprehensive measures to guarantee export targets.

In the wood and paper sector, an increase of 16 percent in furniture production is planned in order to better meet the needs of the people. As for the exploitation of forests, it is a positive sign that the cutting of timber will be 52,000 cubic meters less than the figure set in the resolution to balance timber felling with new growth, while an additional 200,000 cubic meters of firewood will be cut, since the targets for replacing it with coal, gas, electricity, etc. have not been met.

Production of all main light industry products is expected to increase. Tasks have been set for the Ministry of Light Industry, whereby the plan will be fulfilled principally through the better use of productive capacity, an improvement in the technical state of machinery, and changes in the structure, range, and quality of production. Together with the executive committees of district people's councils, measures will be taken to supply the textile combines with the necessary labor force.

Increased production in the food industry and improvements in its structure will rely on the surer targets planned in agricultural development, the fuller use of productive capacity, and the punctual procurement and processing of all agricultural and animal products. Oil, sugar, and cheese productivity will be improved. It is planned that many small-scale processing plants and dairies will pass under the administration of the agricultural cooperatives in order to procure agricultural and animal products more easily, and that these plants will

process fruit for jams, chutneys, and so forth. Higher targets for the catching of fish, mussels, and shellfish are also planned.

The 1990 draft plan provides for a significant increase in agricultural and livestock production. Priority will be given to cereal production and animal products. The level of industrial crops will be maintained, and vegetable, potato, and bean production will be increased in order to meet the needs of the people, the Army, and exports. More animal products will be obtained in two ways, by increasing the number of livestock and improving yields. The necessary fodder supply will also help support increased livestock production. Work with the small herds and fields will be pursued further and a better balance between production and delivery is planned. In order to obtain this, improvements in the crop structure are also planned.

The production of fruit, grapes, and citrus fruits is planned to rise by 14-21 percent compared with the expected levels for this year, while olive production will remain at the level of the 1989 plan, which is 70 percent higher than the average for the 4 years of the current 5-year period, thus failing to fully achieve the objective of doubling production.

In implementation of the tasks set by the seventh party Central Committee plenum, the Council of Ministers has supported agricultural development with investments, adding to and improving the pool of tractors, increasing the area of irrigated land by 11,000 hectares, and using an additional 157,000 tonnes of chemical fertilizer, and has also prescribed measures to refine the use of economic levers. It will, therefore, call on the Ministry of Agriculture and the executive committees of the district people's councils to better apply new technology and advanced experience.

As for the volume of freight transportation, it is planned to give priority to the railroads, which will carry 48 percent of the total volume of transportation. In order to further economize on transportation costs, the Ministry of Transportation and other ministries will be asked to carry out specific tasks in rationalizing production and distribution and eliminating bottlenecks and parallel freight movements.

In 1990, the field of education will aim to further improve the quality of the entire educational process by developing teaching methods, for which more material resources are planned, while it is also planned that the tasks laid down by the People's Assembly at its fifth session of the 11th Legislature will be implemented in the field of health. The 1990 draft plan will also provide better support for culture, the arts, physical culture, and sports.

The scientific research plan anticipates the completion of various research projects and the solution of certain specific problems in industry, agriculture, and other branches and sectors of the economy and culture. Preparatory work will begin throughout the country in 1990 in drawing up the draft plan for the development of the economy and culture in the ninth 5-year period (1991-1995).

Comrade deputies, as is evident, the targets of the 1990 draft plan are relatively high, but entirely feasible. Some of them have already been achieved by many working collectives, and even whole districts. State and economic bodies must, therefore, create a healthy conviction, using concrete evidence, that it is possible to carry out these tasks.

Moreover, the levels which will be reached in 1990 in many indices that show the total development of the economy and culture will serve as a starting point for setting new, higher objectives in the coming ninth 5-year period (1991-1995).

The fine achievements of 1989 show once again that people's conscientious work, high productivity, and a high degree of organization have been and remain the decisive factors in meeting targets on every front.

The destiny and fulfillment of plans depend on the masses' level of awareness and mobilization. Work with people, therefore, remains a permanent duty of state and economic bodies and other social organizations at the center and the base. It is an inexhaustible reserve of great dynamic force which takes diverse forms in developing faster growth rates in the economy.

It is for these reasons that increasing the yield of social labor, and intensifying work in educating working people, raising their level of qualification, and further refining the organization of the socialist management of labor and production will always be at the center of the attention of state and economic bodies. It is a question of assessing the methods, styles, and results of their work according to the tangible assistance they bring to the task of boosting production, increasing social productivity, and improving its effectiveness. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the plenum meeting of the trade unions, changes are necessary in working methods and regulations, in the authorities and the nomenklatura, in the planning and remuneration systems, and in the rights, obligations, and role of working people.

We are faced with the task of introducing organizational and technical measures to support the innovative ideas of working people for the maintenance of basic resources and the expansion, reconstruction, protection, and aggregation of social property. The Council of Ministers will find the most fruitful ways to provide material and moral incentives for the working masses and to support their revolutionary movements such as those to raise production efficiency, boost exports and reduce imports, shorten construction schedules, put all machinery and equipment to use, bring all stockpiled and slow-moving goods into economic circulation, improve supplies through the small herds and fields, and so forth.

The refinement of the organization and management of the economy, the proper harmonization of interests, and

the mobilization of working people for labor with higher efficiency and yields will be accompanied by the more efficient use of economic levers to increase production and its effectiveness. In this field, in implementation of the tasks of recent party Central Committee plenums, work will be done to refine particular aspects of socialist relations in production, with the aim of adapting our mechanism more closely to the development of productive forces, especially in sectors of material production and in solving economic problems which are most urgent and acute.

Increasing the economic accountability of the basic production units, and that of their constituent links, is and will remain at the center of these improvements. The aim is for every key link in the economy to operate with strong economic logic and accountability and to encourage people's initiative and interest in finding ways and opportunities to increase production and yields and to reduce costs.

By better harmonizing the central planned management of the economy with the masses' initiative and self-motivation, it is planned next year that the experience which has been gained of wider planning responsibilities in agriculture and the food industry will also be passed on to other branches and sectors of the economy, to industry, mines, basic investments and construction, transportation, the communal economy, the sociocultural sector, and so forth. These improvements in planning will lead to a greater sense of responsibility for drafting and fulfilling plans at every link in the production chain.

The Council of Ministers has planned to accompany the positive changes which have taken place in the production and trade process with refinements to such economic levers and mechanisms as incentives, remuneration, prices, bank credits, and so forth, which will play an active part in boosting production and its efficiency, and in fulfilling plans in quantity, quality, and variety.

The major tasks set for the economy's development and its efficiency dictate a need to tighten the savings regimen everywhere and on everything and to fulfill tasks item by item. It is a matter of creating and using material goods, working conscientiously to save the people's sweat and efforts, and adding further production to this base in order to further increase the working masses' prosperity. In this context, attention will be concentrated on the sparing use of raw materials and the nation's energy resources, and better work will be done to replace imported and scarce materials with domestic production. Better work will be done to further reduce the quotas of use of materials, without compromising quality and other standards of production. To this end, economic levers will be used and socialist emulation will be encouraged, alongside organizational and technical measures and more strict administration and control through an extension of operational documentation.

This year's experience convinces us that there is every opportunity of transforming 1990 into a very fruitful year and of building on the achievements of this jubilee year which is now ending. Let us struggle with the unshakable conviction that working more determinedly and creatively, tightening control and demands for accountability everywhere, and encouraging and supporting working people's initiatives, under the party's leadership, we will surely accomplish the great tasks lying ahead of us and which this session of the People's Assembly is considering and approving.

The Council of Ministers assures the People's Assembly that it will take every necessary measure to thoroughly refine management methods and will enforce demands for accountability in order to attain on every front the objectives which this session of the People's Assembly will approve.

Comrade deputies, I invite you to approve the principal objectives of the plan for the development of the country's economy and culture in 1990.

Foreign Minister Departs for Talks With Turks

AU0801144390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov departed for Kuwait, where he will have talks with Turkish Foreign Affairs Minister Mesut Yilmaz.

Talks Begin

AU0901111790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] The meeting in Kuwait between the leaders of Bulgarian and Turkish diplomacy, Boyko Dimitrov and Mesut Yilmaz, is an event we follow with great attention. Martin Minkov, our special correspondent in Kuwait reports:

[Begin Minkov recording] At 1030 at the Bayan Palace, a meeting between the ministers of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Turkey, Boyko Dimitrov and Mesut Yilmaz, began. The persons who accompany the two ministers, and Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, Kuwait's deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, attended the opening meeting.

We journalists had the opportunity to hear the greetings speech of the Kuwaiti foreign minister. He noted that the meeting is an expression of the determination to resolve problems in a serious and wise manner that will facilitate the improvement of bilateral relations, desired by both sides. Shaykh al-Ahmad expressed Kuwait's satisfaction with the dialogue between the two countries, with which Kuwait maintains friendly relations, and simultaneously noted the importance attributed to the meeting by the state leaders, Petur Mladenov and Turgut Ozal, as well as Kuwait's leader, Amir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah.

In concluding his greetings speech, the representative of the host country stated the host country's readiness to create the necessary conditions and appropriate atmosphere for the meeting, so that it would meet with success.

Immediately afterward, behind closed doors, talks between Minister Boyko Dimitrov and his Turkish colleague, Mesut Yilmaz, opened. Later, the officials who are accompanying them will join the talks. We journalists are expecting the results, and shall report on them promptly. [end recording]

Kuwaiti Embassy Again Denies Rumor on Aid

AU0801180290 Sofia BTA in English 1457 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—The Kuwaiti Embassy in Sofia dismissed the rumors that Kuwait allegedly promised Bulgaria 6,000 million US Dollars in exchange for the restoration of Muslim names to the Bulgarian citizens professing Islam. An embassy statement describes the rumors as "absolutely untrue and groundless, illogical, and by no means in the best interests of the two countries."

The same rumor was denied last Friday by the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The statement recalls that Kuwait welcomes the Bulgarian authorities' decision to restore the Muslims' rights and views it as a positive step towards the normalization of relations between Bulgaria and Turkey. Kuwait acts as a mediator between the two states. The statement expresses the conviction that the Bulgaro-Turkish meeting in Kuwait on January 9 will help find adequate solutions to the problems existing between the two countries for the sake of their common interests and of stability in this part of the world.

EC Official Discusses EC Aid to Nation

AU0801135990 Sofia BTA in English 1051 GMT 8 Jan 90

["EC Aid for Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—The aid Bulgaria will get from the European Communities will be used mainly to overcome the crisis in the economy and to stimulate the reforms which are received very positively by the Common Market member-states, said the member of the spokesman's service with the Commission of the European Communities, Mr Nico Wegter. In today's issue of OTECHESTVEN FRONT he lays a stress on the possibilities of extending cooperation between the EC and Bulgaria depending on the further course of the restructuring and the establishment of democracy in the country.

The interview was held in connection with the forthcoming tour of a group of experts and high-ranking officials of the Common Market in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania. The delegation will be headed by Mr Frans Andriessen, vice-president of the EC Commission. In Bulgaria the guests will have talks with ministers and representatives of the business circles in order to get a more objective idea about the situation in the country. Matters related to the preparation and signature of an agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the European Communities will also be discussed.

Mladenov Speaks on Ethnic Muslim Issue

AU0801214390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov today met representatives of the Nationwide Committee for the Defense of National Interests. The basic subject of the conversation was the tension existing in certain areas of our country in connection with the decision of the State Council and Council of Ministers that was adopted on 29 December 1989.

With great emotion, the representatives from various towns and areas of the country expressed their concern and the concern of a considerable majority of the Bulgarian population about the possible negative implications of this decision.

Concern about the national ingegrity and national security was expressed, and the possibility that the conflict may escalate was pointed out.

Numerous ideas and views were shared on how to overcome the existing complicated situation. Everyone who wished to do so had the opportunity to express his views on an issue that is now the concern of all our society.

Petur Mladenov expressed sincere gratitude for the meeting and expressed his confidence that it may contribute to finding the best solutions for the defense of our national interests, and the interests of the Bulgarian people.

The most important thing about this meeting, Petur Mladenov stressed, is the fact that we are conducting a dialogue. It is difficult for me to sum up the whole discussion, because so many different opinions were expressed. Some of them exclude each other, many are identical, but others go too far. Numerous healthy ideas were expressed, on the basis of which, in my opinion, solutions should be sought, Petur Mladenov said.

The chairman of the State Council stressed that in the last 2 months following 10 November 1989 great changes have been taking place in Bulgaria, changes which, in terms of their nature and scope, their dynamic pace, and their intensity, are incomparable to what has happened even many years before.

It is true, Petur Mladenov said, that the orientation of our general development is correct in our view. However, the path along which we are proceeding is difficult. Our democracy is at an early stage of its development, and we have a difficult inheritance to cope with.

Grave errors were committed through the decision adopted in 1984. These mistakes did not contribute to the development of correct processes in our country. The decision of 1984 really drove us to the violation of basic human rights. Unless we make up for this mistake, we cannot develop as a nation, we cannot develop as a state, we cannot talk about any restructuring whatsoever, about any democracy.

Bulgaria has never been involved in such international isolation before. You can believe a long-standing foreign affairs minister who tells you this, Petur Mladenov pointed out. Can a state develop in such isolation? What kind of European home can we talk about, what equal participation of Bulgaria in world cooperation could we demand? It is not possible for us to develop without any support, without any moral, political, economic, and scientific-technical assistance. There is no other alternative, the chairman of the State Council stressed, there is no alternative but to admit the shortcomings committed and restore the constitutional rights and obligations of all Bulgarian citizens, but to fulfill our obligations in all the international agreements that we have assumed, including those of the Helsinki, Madrid, and Vienna forums.

Petur Mladenov further pointed out that a certain lack of understanding is manifested by people who are talking about an advance solution of the issue. A small, first step has been accomplished, he said, but the national issue has not been resolved. It cannot be resolved without the entire people's participation, without the participation of all of us in developing our policy on the national issue.

It is evident that the compulsory solution of problems is no alternative. He said that we should seek ways to live together like Bulgarian citizens. At the same time, Petur Mladenov said, I realize that, without solving the national issue with the broadest democratic people's participation, we would not be able to develop any further. Along with this, I also realize the requirement for constitutional guarantees on a number of questions that were a subject of our debates. Such guarantees demand that no violence will be admitted, that Bulgarians should not be forced to become refugees in their own motherland. We must have guarantees that only one flag should be hoisted in Bulgaria, namely the Bulgarian flag, that only the Bulgarian language may be the official language, that the security of our state should not be violated.

There is no other place than the National Assembly, the chairman of the State Council pointed out, where common consensus should be sought, and he expressed the view that the Social Council for discussing various aspects of the national issue, which is opening tomorrow, should deal with at least part of these constitutional guarantees. We all bear great responsibility on our shoulders, and I appeal to you, Petur Mladenov said, that we should do everything within our power so that we may not miss Bulgaria's historical chance to develop as a democratic-socialist state, that we should not waste the opportunity to solve a series of crucial issues, that we should seek a common solution to our national issues in a calm and peaceful atmosphere. I am convinced that, if we proceed side by side, we can find solutions for even the most complicated problems. Petur Mladenov assured the participants in the meeting that all the views, proposals, and opinions they expressed will be most attentively analyzed.

BCP Elements Accused in Ethnic Unrest

AU0901112390 Sofia BTA in English 0928 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—Today's press informs broadly and comments on the unrest in this country in connection with the editorial commentary in ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME condemning severely the retrograde elements who still believe in the return of the totalitarian forces, who according to the paper have been

initiators of the raising of anti-democratic, nationalist slogans during the past week.

According to ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME initiators of the rallies and demonstrations against the restoration of the rights of Bulgarian Muslim citizens, have been those forces who still hold the structures of the BCP and the state. "In fact these are the people who have blindly fulfilled the orders of the ruling top headed by Todor Zhivkov, who during the Summer of 1989 chased away toward the border hundreds of thousands and labelled them "tourists". They have been those who violated the traditional ethnic and religious tolerance of the Bulgarians and raise chauvinistic and extremist slogans." It is easy to understand, writes ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, why now they once again search for a polictical revenge, why did they strike on the still fragile bases of the innovation and raised slogans against all democratic forces, even against the leadership of the party which they represent.

At the same time ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME stands against the way in which the decision of December 29 was taken, assessing it as a remain of the command-administrative method of leadership. In the same paper journalist Binka Peeva informs that at some rallies in the end of the week in Sofia and Razgrad separate uniformed officers or whole sections of the Ministry of the Interior and of the army have joined the common nationalist mood. At the same time the leadership of the Ministry of the Interior and of the Ministry of National Defense made a declaration that they categorically support the decision of the State Council and the Government on the ethnic question.

The journalist sets the question about the right of uniformed officers to join the "general mood". I want to be sure that the army and the police will protect the democratic state and the democratic public order, writes she.

Politburo Member Discusses BCP 'Crisis'

AU0801215990 Sofia BTA in English 2157 GMT 8 Jan 90

["BCP CC Politburo Faces First Crisis Since Restructuring Began"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—"The unrest over the ethnic issue decision confronted the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] with its first serious crisis since the restructuring began," said Mr Mincho Yovchev, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Mr Yovchev chairs the government commission set up last week to work jointly with the local authorities in the Khaskovo region and the town of Kurdzhali, the scenes of the most heated protests.

"The wounds inflicted on Bulgarian society as a whole by the ethnic issue actions of the ousted regime turned much more serious than we assumed," Mr Yovchev said in a televised interview this evening. "Pressed for time, we were unable to accompany our decision in principle with a comprehensive programme on the ethnic issue. Different forces take advantage of this in order to discredit the new leadership of the BCP and the state. We in the Politburo, however, seek a practical solution of the problem. No matter how unsatisfactory our performance may appear, over the last weeks and days we have been seeking to use better the chances of a radical renewal of socialism," Mr Yovchev said.

Mr Yovchev said that in his former capacity as chief of the BCP regional committee in Khaskovo (the part of Bulgaria with the largest Muslim and Turkish-speaking population) he had not fulfilled any of Todor Zhivkov's instructions in the Summer of 1989 which could have electrified the situation.

"The December 29, 1989 resolution on the ethnic issue was adopted as a matter of principle. It is a beginning showing the general direction of the major dialogue on the ethnic issue. No sensible view on it will go unconsidered," he said.

Mr Yovchev said that many high-ranking party officials have compromised themselves under Zhivkov's regime and that the BCP is now disowning them, but this does not imply that all party functionaries are to blame for the wrong actions of that regime. "We will carry out a sort of personnel revolution," he said, indicating that a different approach will be adopted to the selection, training and promotion of cadres. He said that the attempts to subsume all BCP cadres under the blanket term "nomenklatura", already a dirty word, should be resisted.

"Most party cadres throughout the country have neither personal savings, nor foreign currency of their own, nor Western-made cars. If we do not preserve the BCP economic and ideological personnel capability, economic chaos and devastation will come to the country," Mr Yovchev warned.

"All that happened last week showed that there is a void in government. This void cannot be filled without the Communist Party. Many people were taken unawares by the exacerbation of the political struggle over the settlement of the ethnic problem of all issues. This is the most explosive aspect of Bulgarian reality. There are differences over the way to solve this sensitive question surviving from the past," Mr Mincho Yovchev said.

Roundtable Discussion on Ethnic Issue Opens

AU0801141390 Sofia BTA in English 1146 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—An unprecedented body has started its work at the National Assembly—the Public Council for the Discussion of Different Aspects of the National Problem which is made up of representatives of all official political and public organizations, the political and public organizations of the opposition, delegates of dozens of towns and cities which have

recently become the scene of rallies and strikes at which demands were made for a nationwide dialogue on the ethnical crisis.

Under the leadership of Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, today some matters of procedure were agreed. The session itself opens tomorrow at 10 o'clock a.m. [0800 GMT]. Detailed information about the council's work will be made available for the broad public.

The participants unanimously approved an appeal to the population for calling off rallies and strikes in order to ensure a peaceful and business-like atmosphere for the work of the council.

Statement on Strike

AU0801202090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpts] At the initiative of the National Assembly leadership, a Social Council meeting for discussing various aspects of the national issue opened in Sofia this morning. [passage omitted]

It was agreed that two daily sessions should be held: A morning session lasting from 1000 local time to 1200 and an afternoon session from 1500 to 1800 local time. The work of the council is expected to end at the latest on Friday, 12 January, so that the document adopted by this forum may be submitted to the 13th Session of the 9th National Assembly for discussion.

Acting on the proposal of Academician Blagovest Sendov, National Assembly deputy and chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, it was decided that the council should adopt an address to the Bulgarian citizens on stopping strikes and rallies on the national issue throughout the period of the sessions.

On behalf of the commission established on this occasion, Professor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, briefed the journalists present on an appeal of the Parliament's Social Council, which reads as follows:

Citizens of Bulgaria, the participants in the first session of the Social Council unanimously decided to address the following appeal to all citizens of our country:

As long as the sessions of the Social Council continue, the strikes and rallies on the national issues should be stopped. This will permit us to work in peace and in a businesslike manner, while we will periodically inform all the public on the developments of the discussion.

The telephone post of the permanent parliamentary press bureau will be open to citizens throughout these days. The number is 8501, extension 2307.

Orthodox Church Wants Guarantees of Freedom

AU0801174090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] The Holy Synod has submitted a statement to Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly:

The statement expresses full approval for the nationwide aspirations toward the process of innovating the motherland, for the establishment of a highly civilized, democratic, and law-governed state.

The statement expresses the view that the new constitution and the new law on religious denominations should by all means include basic principles guaranteeing full religious freedom and the freedom of conscience.

The statement contains certain demands related to the opportunity for the Bulgarian Orthodox Church to fulfill its religious and patriotic duties in the spiritual and moral sphere and to assist the government in this important area of spiritual life.

In the first place, the statement points out the requirement of settling mutual relations between church and state. It is proposed that a nationwide church convention should be take place in Autumn 1990.

The Holy Synod thinks that churches, monasteries, and buildings belonging to the church that had been turned into museums and used for non-religious purposes should be restored to the Bulgarian church authorities.

Lukanov Addresses 2 Jan Kurdzhali Rally

AU0501161290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jan 90 p 2

[Excerpts] Kurdzhali, 2 January (oblast correspondents Nikola Kidikov and Vanyo Stoilov)—Not all of the people in this region greeted in the same way the decision of the 29 December plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] on overcoming the abuses committed among the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population in Bulgaria, and, in fact, this decision caused an explosion of public opinion. [passage omitted]

For this reason, today's day of rallies in Kurdzhali should not surprise anyone. The rallies started at 9 o'clock. The first ones consisted of people who were unwilling to offer separate support for the decision of the plenum of the BCP Central Committee. By about 1600 these rallies had merged into a huge mass of over 15,000 people in front of the municipal BCP committee's offices. At this time Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who had been invited from Sofia, stood up to address the crowd. It is difficult to describe in a few words a rally at which the slogans raised ranged from "We welcome the decision of the plenum of the BCP Central Committee" and "Restore the Muslims' names and rights" to "Bulgaria for Bulgarians" and "Stop making Bulgaria Turkish;"

and at which mass chanting was heard of "Bulgaria, Bulgaria!" and "Send the Turks to Turkey." The most cheering fact was that up to this moment there had been no violence and extremism, and that a dialogue, albeit a difficult one, had begun.

Addressing the rally participants, Andrey Lukanov said:

I ask everyone who is interested in us reaching sensible decisions to hear me out.

I want to confirm to you that we have reached agreement with the representatives of the public with whom we are continuing our talks—and these talks are pungent, open, and honest—that a parliamentary group should visit Kurdzhali within the next 2 days to hold the necessary talks and consultations with all representatives of the population, to hear your views and assessments, and to report back to the National Assembly.

I consider that in the party leadership we can meet with your representatives in Sofia as early as tomorrow, in order for them to directly inform the leadership of your views, stance, and attitude. [sentence as heard]

I am ready to accept any declarations from all interested parties, in order to bring them to the attention of the party leadership, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the National Assembly.

I assume an obligation to ensure that your demands are publicized through the Bulgarian Television and mass media. Let us search for the truth together.... I support your demand that the public should be informed of how you are thinking.

I promise you that these documents which I have received here, together with the appeal, will be brought to the attention of the National Assembly tomorrow. I believe that your demand that the Bulgarian public should be acquainted with your thoughts and feelings is a correct one, and I accept a commitment in front of you now to defend this demand. Furthermore, I consider that when the parliamentary group arrives to hold consultations with the population of the Kurdzhali region, they should give everyone a hearing who wishes to speak.

I think that a group of representatives of the public might be invited to a discussion in the National Assembly.

I would like to say three more things:

First, we consider it our sacred duty to defend the civil, human, and democratic rights of everyone.

Second, in Bulgaria no one will permit the country's security or national and territorial integrity to be threatened.

Third, let us be clear that there is only one way out for you from this difficult situation, namely reconciliation and democracy.

Finally, I give you a most solemn promise that everything that I have seen, heard, and felt on this square will be (cries of "Referendum, Referendum") reported tomorrow in the most precise manner to my colleagues. I request you, too, to show patience, calm, and wisdom, in order that we do not permit something that cannot be corrected later.

Thank you for your frankness, and I want to assure you that we will do everything necessary to defend everybody in Bulgaria, against any kind of pressure and against all coercion, in order to defend our beloved homeland.

Comrades, we are all children of Bulgaria. Let us show true love for her.

Let us now leave the task of calming the situation to dialogue, consultations, meetings and talks, and let us together find the wisest solutions in the name of the unity of the Bulgarian people, in the name of Bulgaria! [passage omitted]

Zhivkov's BCP 'Purge Victims' Rehabilitated

AU0901112990 Sofia BTA in English 2147 GMT 8 Jan 90

["Political Rehabilitation for BCP Purge Victims"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 8 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the Bureau of the Central Control and Auditing Commission today issued a joint resolution on the political rehabilitation of BCP functionaries who have been subjected to repressions under the autocratic rule of Todor Zhivkov.

The resolution says that the negative effects of the personality cult in Bulgaria were partially mitigated after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the April 1956 Plenum of the CC of the BCP which brought Todor Zhivkov to power. Along with that, however, that phenomenon started to resurge in the political and inner party life. Every idea or opinion at variance above all with Todor Zhivkov's ideas and opinions were persecuted, and their purveyors and exponents were subjected to repressions.

The resolution explains that the repressions list was topped by functionaries thinking for themselves and holding independent views and assessments, enjoying authority and influence, people whose views and positions could have raised serious obstacles to the further consolidation of the one-person authoritarian regime.

Those most often accused as "opponents of the April policy line" were party activists struggling against the distortion of socialism and against the authoritarian system.

The resolution grants full political rehabilitation to 30 political functionaries listed by name and to other BCP members accused of conspiring with them. The political

accusations and the moral labels as well as the party punishment decisions are revoked and dismissed as slanderous and false.

Besides the political rehabilitation, the resolution suggests that the Prosecutor General's Office and the Supreme Court move for a supervisory review and reversal of the sentences passed on some of the BCP members.

Citizens Protest Against Nuclear Reactor

AU0701201890 Sofia BTA in English 1924 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—Citizens from Pleven, Svishtov, Veliko Turnovo and Sofia and a group for protection against nuclear accidents from Kozloduy gathered at the construction site of the second Bulgarian Nuclear Power-generation Plant in Belene to express their concern over the construction of this project. They carried posters on which it was written "The World Said Goodbye to Hiroshima, Bulgaria is Drifting Towards Chernobyl", "We Don't Want Gas Masks to Become Part of Our Everyday Clothes", "Green Policy Requires Mature Government".

The speakers who took the floor at the rally demanded that the construction of the nuclear power-generation plant in this seismic region should be stopped and that the operation of the plant in Kozloduy should be more efficiently controlled.

The participants in the rally presented to the representative of the nuclear power-generation plant in Belene, Mr Nikita Nabatov, an address to the workers on the site in which they assure them that the demand for discontinuing the construction is not directed at them, but is made to protect people's life and nature.

Safety, Value of Nuclear Plant Discussed

AU0301190090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Jan 90 p 3

[Liliya Lecheva article: "Before We Say Whether the Belene Nuclear Power Plant Is Necessary"]

[Excerpts] So far we have been building the Belene Nuclear Power Plant unofficially, with fleeting reports, with no information from the specialists, and with no government document approving the construction of this installation.

It is now already an official fact that in Bulgaria public disapproval is growing toward the project. Yet the report called for by the Ministry of the Energy Industry to substantiate the Second Nuclear Power Plant project was prepared by "Energoproekt" 10 years ago. If during this period, following the necessary discussion, the course of our economy was set toward the purchase (and design!) of energy-saving technologies, toward a new economic structure, then the first results should already be evident today. However, we are moving precisely in the reverse direction: We are making maximum expenditures and then building huge power plants. At present, most of the energy specialists are trying to make us agree that the Belene Nuclear Power Plant, with its planned four 1,000-megawatt generating units, is essential for Bulgaria, given that 58.9 percent of the country's gross electric power consumption relates to industry, against 32.6 percent for the communal and domestic sector (according to 1988 data), that every year 120,000 new consumers are connected to the network, and that Bulgaria, as is well known, is poor in water resources and possesses barely 30 percent of its required primary energy resources. This means an outflow of foreign currency to buy the coal, petroleum, and gas used in electricity production.

Studies by "Energoproekt" show that Bulgaria's electric power consumption in 1995 will require the connection of a new 1,000-megawatt unit to the energy system, when the No. 5 and No. 6 units at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant will already be operating at full capacity. The expected gross electric power consumption in 1995 is 61 billion kilowatt-hours, compared to 49 billion in 1988.

However, this data is valid for the present structure of the economy. It is certain that it will not be the same in 6 years' time. Is the evaluation of the expected electric power consumption accurate then?

According to Professor Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the "Energy Industry" Association, in 1995 it will be too late to start up a new 1,000-megawatt unit. He states that the problem lies not so much in the quantity of electric power spread over the year as in the shortage of capacities at peak periods. [passage omitted]

We will spend more than 7 billion leva on building the four generating units at Belene (according to the 1987 general estimate). The reactor section of the No. 1 unit has already been built up to a level of 13.20 meters, and 620 million leva have been invested in it, of which 400 million leva were for construction and installation work on the installation's infrastructure and foundation. In addition, 1,400 decares of farmland and 600 decares of forest have been destroyed.

For this money one might expect that we would be provided with the very safest and most up-to-date installation. However, the question of safety gives rise to serious hesitations.

I will start with the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, because the first Bulgarian nuclear plant was not designed for earthquakes, nor were its four small 440-megawatt units guaranteed against earthquakes. They are now being reinforced. However, they withstood three tremors: a strong earthquake at Vrancha in 1977, a tremor of one-half the strength at Strazhitsa in 1986, and a tremor of one-quarter the strength of the first earthquake 10 km from Kozloduy in 1987.

The region around Belene has a seismic activity of 7.5, according to the 12-point Medvedyev-Shponheuer-Karnik scale, that is, twice as high as the Kozloduy region. Why then build the nuclear plant here? First of all, the only non-seismic region in Bulgaria is in northwestern Bulgaria near Vidin, while all other regions are subject to earthquakes. [passage omitted]

What has been done at Belene to date? Earthwork in order to raise the level of the site has been completed that is valued at 70 million leva. Weak soils have been removed between the 21- and 10-meter levels in order to reach the bedrock. A strong ballast-bearing pad has been built up. In the view of engineer Kosyo Kosev from "Energoproekt," the chief designer for the plant, this is a firm foundation for the construction of the reactor section and the machine hall. He even maintains that this is the best possible and most promising foundation. However, what has been missed? Let us return to Kozloduy, because the problem dates from an earlier time. The International Atomic Energy Agency recommends a number of anti-earthquake systems. The first is a seismological one, with four recording stations located at distances between 15 and 30 km from the power plant, which are designed to determine the epicenters of weak tremors occurring in the immediate vicinity of the plant or further away. No such system has been constructed at Kozloduy (let us not forget how surprised the scientists were at the earthquake here 2 years ago!). No such system has been designed at Belene.

The second system is installed within the power plant. In the event of a tremor it emits a signal, at which time the reactors shut down automatically. This system shut down the reactors in 1986. The third system consists of instruments below ground and on the surface that register the reliability of the plant during weak or medium-strength earth tremors and forecast its behavior during a strong tremor. It has not been constructed at Kozloduy. The fourth system is installed on the machine that loads the reactors. It is fitted on the No. 5 unit at Kozloduy, but the four smaller units are loaded under manual control.

The design team of senior scientific fellow Sachanski submitted a project 4-5 years ago for monitoring deformations of the ground, slips, and so on. The project has not yet "reached" Belene. All this means one thing: underestimation of the danger!

Our specialists are convinced that they can protect the Belene plant against the level of seismicity proved 6 years ago. However, in order to provide a further guarantee, the Committee on the Use of Nuclear Energy for Peaceful Purposes under the Council of Ministers has submitted a proposal to the government for a repeat examination to be carried out by independent experts. Under the pretext that it was not clear how much this would cost, it was explained to the committee that it was possible that no decision would be reached on this. It was added that it would therefore be better not to make any comment on this fact. Are there still people in the government even now who think like this?

The second fact that will amaze even the most unprejudiced person is that we are building the Belene plant to meet the "contemporary" standard of 1969!

Following Chernobyl, the nuclear energy industry quickly made an impact upon people. Its problems, formerly regarded as technological, suddenly became ethical ones. In this context, let us therefore ask our specialists: Is it normal (and ethical) for us to build a modern and safe nuclear plant according to designs dating from 1969? When the plant comes into operation, its generating units will be ready for the scrapyard. [passage omitted]

The most expedient solution for this problem is for us to wait, if we can, for 3 or 4 years until reactors of a more advanced type become available, and then continue with the construction of the No. 3 and 4 units at Belene using such reactors—this is the view of Boris Georgiev, deputy chairman of the Committee on the Use of Nuclear Energy for Peaceful Purposes.

Yes, the opinion prevails among the energy experts that all of the four units to be constructed at Belene are absolutely essential and are the most suitable ones for Bulgarian seismic conditions. However, there also exists a view that some of these units should be installed at Kozloduy instead of Belene. Voices are also heard suggesting that units of smaller capacity should be used, because these are more suitable and cheaper. The opponents of this proposal try to prove that the small units, such as the 440-megawatt ones in Hungary and the 465- and 735-megawatt ones in Finland, are designed for a lower seismic level and therefore cannot be used in Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

A very important issue for our economy is the actual cost of nuclear-produced electric power, given that nuclear generating units are so expensive and that it will take almost 3 decades of production to recoup their cost. Let us make a comparison.

This year the average production costs of 1 kilowatt of electricity for various generating plants is as follows:

—For the "Trakiya," "Ruse-West," and "Sofia" thermal power plants, fired with fuel oil and gas, the average cost is 3.39 stotinki.

—For the "Dimo Dichev" thermal plant, using locally produced coal, the cost is 4.36 stotinki (without removal of sulfur compounds which, when introduced, will increase the cost to 4.94 stotinki).

—For hydroelectric power plants, the average cost is 4.5 stotinki.

—The cost for the No. 5 generating unit at Kozloduy is 2.75 stotinki, while the overall cost for the first four 440-megawatt units is 1.46 stotinki (they have already paid for themselves).

—In the case of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant, it is expected that the prime cost of 1 kilowatt-hour of electric power will be 3.09 stotinki in 1994, that is, immediately following the startup of the first generating unit.

—U.S. data indicates costs of 5 cents per kilowatt-hour, while Soviet data gives a figure of 1.04 kopeks. [passage omitted]

However, in present-day conditions, ecological considerations are regarded as equal to economic ones, and one has to know to what extent the process of producing electricity from the atom passes the ecological test, as compared with the other sources. The specialists prove the great harm produced by waste discharges from the combustion of petroleum and coal, point to the immense clouds of smoke billowing from the stacks of the thermal power plants, and stress the unfavorable effects of hydroelectric power on the environment. At the same time, the arguments concerning the "more ecological and safer" production of electricity from nuclear sources must give way before the fact that if we build a 6,000-megawatt plant, we will be on the verge of radiation contamination.

It is clear that the energy experts have made their decision to build the Belene Nuclear Power Plant. However, something else is also clear from the assembled information, namely that at this stage the specialists have not guaranteed all the essential conditions to make us feel safe in the company of yet another nuclear power plant. Since the impossible has not been accomplished in order to guarantee "the atom's" quality, at whose expense then are we building the plant? [passage omitted]

It is self-evident that this article cannot exhaustively cover all the issues posed by the construction of a nuclear power plant, nor can these issues be examined in their full depth. However, it is the task of the journalist to raise these issues for public attention and to open the pages of the newspaper for discussion.

Expert Describes Radiation Contamination

AU2912113389 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 20 Dec 89 p 2

[Report on interview with Dr. Iliya Belokonski, M.D., holder of a Dimitrov Prize for problems of radiation biology and leader of the National Scientific Program for "Radiation Protection," by Maya Koneva; date and place not given—"Radiation"]

[Text] On 20 and 21 December, a conference will be held on radiation protection problems, or on the chief results of the Chernobyl contamination in Bulgaria. The conference is organized by the Committee for Science and Higher Education under the Council of Ministers, the Academy of Military Medicine, and the National Scientific Program for "Radiation Protection."

According to data gathered by the Scientific Committee on the Effect of Atomic Radiation [SCEAR] of the United Nations, since the end of last year Bulgaria occupies the first place with regard to the effects on human beings from contamination with technologically produced radionuclides resulting from the accident in Chernobyl. This relates to the equivalent dose created by the iodine 130 content in the thyroid gland of children. As regards the same indicator for adults, Bulgaria is in third place. With regard to the annual effective equivalent dose created by cesium 137 that has entered the human organism, Bulgaria again holds first place. As far as contamination of land with cesium 137 is concerned, southern Bulgaria is in the eighth position, following certain oblasts in the Soviet Union.

[Koneva] What are the reasons for so large a radiation loading of the population, and could this radiation effect have been prevented?

[Belokonski] Following the accidents at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant on 26 April 1986, in our practical work in radiation physics, radiation biology, and radiation protection, we came up against the varied problems of a real and complex radiation situation for the first time. It must be said that most countries managed to apply effective protective measures. In our country these measures were greatly underrated, and were inadequate, ineffective, and not timely. We have a permanent "Government Commission for Combating Natural Disasters and Major Industrial Accidents," and this commission concentrated all the information in its hands and appropriated for itself a monopoly right to totally handle all questions of radiation protection, although the commission itself does not possess sufficient competence to perform such work. Within this commission, data was gathered and processed from certain organizations and institutes in Bulgaria, but this data was subjected to quite liberal interpretation and manipulation. I would say that the population was deluded in the most irresponsible manner with untrue data!

As early as on 2-3 May 1986, Prof Ivan Bonchev and Docent Ivan Uzunov from Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University discovered hot particles—the new radiation factor—in dust, on leaves of plants, on road surfaces, and on roofs. The joint collective of Sofia University and the Higher Institute of Veterinary Medicine gathered materials concerning hot particles over several days and developed a concept regarding their primary role in the radiation situation, which was caused by many factors, because of the great danger of these particles being incorporated in the parenchyma of the lungs via the respiratory tract. The report of SCEAR made no mention of these particles, and the risk from them was also greatly underrated in Bulgaria! Prof Shindarov, then first minister of public health, after consultations with Grigor Stoichkov, in the name of the government imposed a crude ban on all kinds of investigations and discussions on the problem. We resisted this ban. A detailed briefing on hot particles was prepared that proposed measures for radiation protection, canceling organized mass sporting

events, school farm work brigades, children's camps, student training courses, and so on. Unfortunately, the proposals made by us were not accepted by the government commission, and the public was not even informed of the danger.

[Koneva] Can you give specific data concerning the radiation contamination of food products and the quantities of technologically produced radionuclides found in the population?

[Belokonski] I will only deal with certain aspects of the so-called second radiation peak. In contrast to the northern European countries, in Bulgaria at the beginning of May the animal feed crops were well developed, and the rains deposited considerable quantities of cesium 137 and cesium 134 on them, predominantly in the regions of southern Bulgaria. Despite the proposals made on numerous occasions by the specialists of the Agricultural Academy that highly contaminated feed crops should be destroyed, this was not done. This feed was incorporated in food for cattle at the end of 1986, which led to a fast and pronounced rise in the content of radioactive cesium in meat and in meat and dairy products. As a result, there was an increase in whole-body activity in people, especially in southern Bulgaria.

[Koneva] What does the term "whole-body activity" mean, and what are the consequences of the accumulation of radioactive cesium?

[Belokonski] The term refers to the activity of radionuclides accumulated in the human organism, that is, the activity of these radionuclides that have entered the human organism and been incorporated therein for a lengthy period. It is difficult to say at what dosage levels this occurs, as we still face unresolved problems, but ionizing radiation has a harmful effect on biological specimens and on the human population. The effects make their appearance after a long latent period, which sometimes lasts for decades.

[Koneva] At the same time, there was talk among the population of increased infant mortality and of the birth of children with defects. Can we relate all this to the Chernobyl accident?

[Belokonski] In May 1987 a conference was held in the Ministry of Public Health, at which Dr Yadkova presented a report, from which it could be seen that in the first quarter of 1987 there was a substantial rise in infant mortality in many regions of the country.

Against an average infant mortality of 15.8 per thousand for the country as a whole, in Sofia and its former okrug, mortality rose by 13.52 and more per thousand over the figure for the same period in the preceding year. In Gabrovo the figure rose by 15.31 per thousand, in Lovech by 9.90 per thousand, in Kyustendil by 7.42 per thousand, in Ruse by 7.28 per thousand, and so on, and so forth.

It is difficult to say that the radiation was the sole reason for this, but it may appear as an additional factor affecting the delicate organism of young children, and in such a case the syndrome of mutual reinforcement appears. Although the Ministry of Public Health placed a ban on the conduct of research studies in this field, much data was available from practicing physicians in different hospitals that indicated that there was an increase in malformations and a rise in the numbers of anomalies found in newborn children.

New 'Unity' Democratic Forum Established

AU0601212790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 89 p 6

[Text] Over 100 citizens, representatives of the intelligentsia and workers, who established a civil democratic forum called "Unity" submitted their declaration to the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board. They announced their support for accelerating democracy and restructuring in society and within the state, and propose radical economic reforms based on the principles of socialist market economy. They propose that the reform of the legal-political superstructure should be intensified and that the bureaucratic apparatus should be drastically reduced, that the people's power should be more fully implemented, and the independence of political parties and informal communities within the country should be respected.

In its declaration the "Unity" Civil Democratic Forum wishes success to the dialogue of all participants in the future roundtable discussion and proposes that January 1990 should be proclaimed as the month of unity and national consensus, that it should be a peaceful and constructive month to the benefit of our beloved homeland—the Bulgarian motherland.

The motto of the new organization is: "Unity makes strength, Unity makes modern Bulgaria!"

Roundtable 3 Jan Talks, Participants Noted

AU0801130090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Jan 90 p 1

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "Agreement on Procedural Issues Expected"]

[Text] Great commotion developed already yesterday morning [3 January] at the National Assembly building. Bulgarian and foreign correspondents "occupied" the "Western" Hall—the location of the open, constructive, and honest political dialogue, for which the sides expressed their readiness.

At 0900 [0700 GMT] consultations began between representatives of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS], the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Dimitrov Komsomol, and creative unions.

The following persons took their seats at the consultation table at 1130 [0930 GMT]:

The BCP delegation: Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and chairman of the BCP parliamentary group; Aleksandur Lilov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary; Belcho Belchev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of finance; Georgi Pirinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Todor Kyurkchiev, member of the BCP Central Committee and head of the BCP Central Committee "Organizational" Department; and Ivan Angelov, spokesman for the BCP Central Committee.

The BZNS delegation: Viktor Vulkov, secretary of the BZNS Permanent Board and chairman of the BZNS parliamentary group; Svetla Daskalova, secretary of the BZNS Permanent Board, minister of justice; Svetoslav Shivarov, member of the BZNS Permanent Board;

The non-party members of the National Assembly, Blagovest Sendov and Lyuben Kulishev;

The delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]: Zhelyu Zhelev, SDS chairman; Petur Beron, SDS secretary; Petur Dertliev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (United); Milan Drenchev, secretary of the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS; Dimitur Batalov, chairman of the Club of the Repressed After 1945; Rumen Vodenicharov, chairman of the Independent Union on Defense of Human Rights; Georgi Avramov, secretary of the "Ecoglasnost" Independent Association; Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the "Podkrepa" Independent Trade Unions; Petko Simeonov, chairman of the Club on Glasnost and Democracy; Lyubomir Sobadzhiev, chairman of the "Civic Initiative" Movement; Petur Kunev, representing Khristofor Subev, chairman of the Committee on Defense of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience, and Spiritual Values; Emil Koshlukov, chairman of the Coordination Committee of the Independent Student Associations; Elka Konstantinova, chairman of the Radical Democratic Party; and Georgi Spasov, spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces.

The consultations took place in a constructive spirit. They were conducted behind closed doors. The journalists had to reconcile to "extracting" something from the spokesmen for the two delegations, who were very laconic:

Ivan Angelov: The talks are under way, but there still is no agreement. On several points the positions coincide. Our side proposed to establish working groups on issues of political reforms, socioeconomic development, legal issues.... However, the consultations are continuing.

G. Spasov: The consultations are proceeding normally. I think that there is a chance to adopt decisions on many issues, something that should satisfy both sides, and especially those who are expecting the democratization of our society. I suppose that this will happen, however, for the time being there are no guarantees or signatures on any agreements.

Today [4 January] the consultations will continue at 1500 [1300 GMT]. there is a chance that they will result in reaching an agreement on the procedural issues related to the "roundtable."

Call for Restoration of Anti-Fascist Union

AU2312185189 Sofia BTA in English 1705 GMT 23 Dec 89

["Appeal for Restoration of the Union of Anti-Fascist Forces"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 23 (BTA)—An initiative committee of 16 people issued an appeal today for restoration of the Union of Anti-Fascist Forces, which was established in 1945 under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov. This union was liquidated and later replaced by "committees of the Active Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism," appointed by Todor Zhivkov and the party bureaucracy.

The representatives of the anti-fascist forces express readiness for cooperation with party and nonparty, formal and informal organizations, societies, forums, in the name of the well-being of the Bulgarian people. The appeal expresses support to the efforts of the Bulgarian Communist Party, BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union], and all democratic forces for elimination of the command-administrative system, for removal of the corrupted political and state leaders on all levels of the hierarchy.

At the same time concern is expressed over the leftist and rightist extremities.

Members of the union can become anti-fascists who have not committed crimes against the people, who have not abused power, have not violated socialist morals, have not committed criminal or economic crimes.

Change in Party Admission Rules Urged

AU0801125790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial: "New Replenishment of Party Ranks"]

[Excerpts] Recently RABOTNICHESKO DELO carried reports on the admission of new members to the party. Young people sought their way toward the party ranks at a very responsible moment: immediately after the November plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], which asserted a new political course, aimed at real revolutionary restructuring of our socialist society. [passage omitted]

Until recently the admission of new members to the party was regulated, to a large extent, from the top. Age and profession were used as criteria for admission,

"quotas" were set, and the act itself was sluggish, the delay often lasting months and even years. The new spirit of our time powerfully demands also conducting revolutionary changes in this sphere. Every primary party organization must know that the only criterion that must guide it in reviewing membership requests is the character of the candidate: Does he have qualities of an active fighter for the party cause? And is he ready to conduct the new party line of revolutionary restructuring? His social status (employee or scientific worker, student or soldier, worker, engineer, or teacher, a medical doctor or journalist, and so forth) is of no importance. New members should not be admitted on the basis of "set quotas." Such an approach does not correspond with the times, with our party's lofty goals, and with the people's will.

The democratization of society opens more broadly the gates of the party. Simultaneously, the requirements for the candidates must increase because precisely the complex assessment of their qualities—their attitude toward labor and social work, their moral and personal example, their skill in working with people, their ideological conviction and active position in life, their authority in the collective, and so forth—must be the only criterion that should guide the primary party organizations in admitting new members to their ranks.

Finally, it must be pointed out that this is not a new campaign of admitting new party members; such campaigns were conducted in the past. The admission of new members to the BCP ranks is a natural process, which is now being purged of unnecessary regulating instruments, and which gives the primary party organizations the freedom to infuse their ranks with new blood.

Today this is necessary more than ever before.

Changes Made at BCP Plovdiv Oblast Plenum

AU0801130590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Dec 89 p 2

[Stefan Severin report: "In Attacking Style Toward Change"]

[Text] Plovdiv, 20 December—A plenum of the oblast committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] took place here today. It reviewed certain topical tasks that face the party organization and which spring from the decisions of the BCP Central Committee's December plenum.

The report, read by Panteley Pachov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, pointed out the necessity of assuming principled positions in assessing past activity and the mistakes that have been allowed, and revealing specific manifestations of the administrative-command system in sociopolitical life in the oblast. A real revolutionary attack can develop in restructuring only if the process toward change continues with the same force. The situation in the primary party organizations was thoroughly reviewed, and a critical and self-critical assessment was made of everything that took place after 10 November. It was pointed out that the Communists in the oblast are already overcoming the initial confusion and increasing their activity and constructive approach toward labor. It also was pointed out that the situation in many collectives continues to be tense and that social and political tension continues to rise. Party and economic cadres were subjected to specific criticism. The plenum assessed the state of economy in the oblast from a political point of view. The opinion was expressed that a dialogue must be conducted with those informal associations that adhere to socialism and democracy and that are concerned for the motherland's future.

The plenum also reviewed organizational issues. The request of Doychin Doychinov to relieve him from his post as secretary and member of the Bureau of the BCP Plovdiv Oblast Committee was granted. The request of Petur Georgiev, chairman of the Municipal Committee of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, to be relieved of his post as member of the Bureau of the BCP Plovdiv Oblast Committee also was granted. In addition, 13 members and candidate members of the BCP Plovdiv Oblast Committee were relieved of their posts.

Meetings, Events Throughout Country Noted

AU2112120889 Sofia BTA in English 1018 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—A Constituent Congress of the Union of Officers in Reserve, Sergeants and Sergeant-Majors in Bulgaria, is to be held on December 23, according to decision taken at a meeting held last night here.

A Constituent Assembly was held of the Creative Professional Union of Bulgarian Photographers. The union will count on self-accounting activity and on sponsorship.

Representatives of ten state drama theaters in Sofia and in the country, of a few theatrical studia [as received] freelance actors founded an Independent Trade Union of Actors. The union will protect its members right of labour and free creative activity.

A Public Forum for Physical Culture and Sports was founded in Sofia. Its aim is to contribute for radical restructuring in the sphere of sports and to encourage social and specialized sports organizations to direct their activity towards the real needs of society. The aim of the forum is for every Bulgarian to have a right for free access to sports. On January 27, 1990 the social forum is convening a meeting in Sofia.

Due to the sharply increased interest for Bulgarian newspapers and magazines the Bulgarska Kniga I Pechat

Association prolongs subscriptions after January 1, 1990. Subscription for the dailies can be done by the 15th day of each month.

According to information of the Bulgarska Kniga I Pechat, there are now over 1 billion and 340 million issues Bulgarian and foreign newspapers and magazines. But over the last years the quality of newspapers and magazines is constantly being reduced due to lack of paper. There are now annually 122 newspapers per capita. The most demanded newspapers are RABOTNICHESKO DELO, TRUD and KOOPERATIVNO SELO.

In Sofia and in the other cities of this country there is a mass initiative for submitting to the "Vtorichni Surovini" (Scraps) enterprise the 39 volumes of works of the former party and state leader, published on expensive imported paper.

BCP 'Ready for Dialogue' With Unions

AU2212095989 Sofia BTA in English
2120 GMT 21 Dec 89

["Communist Party Ready for Dialogue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—The dialogue with the informal organizations will start immediately when the sides interested in the well-being of our people are ready to sit and talk, said at a press conference here yesterday Mr Evgeni Aleksandrov, spokesman of the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. He informed that there are different ideas already about the form of the dialogue itself. It is possible, for instance, that it be a "round table" as in other East European countries.

Asked whether the elections offered to be held in the spring will be competitive he expressed conviction that they will have "all attributes of democratic elections" in accordance with the will of the Bulgarian people.

To a question whether the future government will include representatives of informal organizations the spokesman of the plenum answered that the proposed elections will give opportunity to the new Parliament to form such government which it finds appropriate. I think that it will represent integrally the interests of the entire Bulgarian people, all initiative groups and societies included, of all parts of the society, added he.

Mr Evgeni Aleksandrov stressed that the formal presence of Article one in the Bulgarian Constitution which determines the leading role of the Communist Party will not hamper the representation of the interests of the entire people because of the political consensus at present. It was proposed at the plenum to cancel this article in the new constitution.

The spokesman of the plenum of the CC of the BCP said that an interesting and dynamic discussion was expected at the next session of the plenum. Dozens of people have applied to speak and the idea is to give the floor to everyone. "We will witness something unprecedented", he pointed out.

Fatherland Front Elects New Leader

AU2212103889 Sofia BTA in English
2114 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—At today's session of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the first after the changes in the leadership of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], it was pointed out that a number of the Fatherland Front organizations have criticized the National Council for its lagging behind the new processes in this country.

The report, read by Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the council, paid attention to the deformations in the work of the Fatherland Front. It was proposed to stop the activity of the so-called Committee of Political and Public Forces, which have been created artificially by the command-administrative apparatus and repeating in a number of aspects the work of the Fatherland Front.

The participants in the meeting stressed that at present it is necessary to restore the Fatherland Front as a broad political union, equal rights union of parties, organizations, movements, societies and citizens aiming at the construction of a humane and democratic civic society, organized in a modern law-abiding state.

The organization must call under the national flag of Bulgaria the different groups of the population, all people regardless of their political and professional affiliations, age, sex, religious or other views. In this case the Fatherland Front should reject actions, functions and events which have characterized it till the present as a part of the command-administrative system, appendage to the bodies of authority and government and a transmission of the BCP, was stressed at the session.

The Fatherland Front views the BCP as a leading force in the restructuring but it must work out and follow its own platform, respecting completely the opinion and the interests of the other political and public forces on the basis of political pluralism in the name of real socialism.

One of the most important political tasks for the Fatherland Front will be the holding of free democratic elections next year. It must have an indispensable place for provision of mass and conscientious participation of the citizens in all phases of the election campaign, for a contact and open dialogue between the candidates and the electorate, for public control and adherence to the election law and the democratic norms in the holding of the elections, at the voluntary agreement of the political parties the Fatherland Front may become an expresser of an election coalition in the name of the platform of restructuring.

The National Council of the Fatherland Front decided to convene an extraordinary congress of the front in April 1990.

The mandate of the Bureau of the National Council was recalled pre-term.

New leadership was elected. Zhivko Zhivkov was elected chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

The participants in the meeting proposed to deprive Todor Zhivkov and Grisha Filipov of the titles: Hero of Socialist Labour and Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Zhelev Stresses Importance of Free Press

AU0101180590

[Editorial Report] Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 51, on 20 December on pages 15 and 17 carries a 4,000-word interview with Zhelyu Zhelev, "senior scientific fellow, Ph.D., and chairman of the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces," by Georgi Todorov, ANTENI correspondent, conducted in Zhelev's apartment "late after midnight between 16 and 17 December," and entitled: "Not 'Free Europe,' but Free Bulgaria."

At the outset of the interview, Zhelev speaks about the Union of the Democratic Forces, stresses that its members will continue their activities along the specific lines of each independent organization, and asserts that "only an independent organization with competent members, specialists of the specific issues it deals with, can successfully and usefully act as an opponent of the state institutions."

Asked about the importance of the freedom of the press, Zhelev answers that "he still does not believe that there are no 'prohibited' topics for the journalists," and points out "the subjective reporting" of the meetings of the independent associations. In this context he says: "I think that the time when we learned from 'Free Europe' what happens in our country is over. Now we must learn this from Free Bulgaria."

Further on, Zhelev outlines his proposals for the new constitution and suggests "taking into consideration the spirit of the Turnovo Constitution." [The Turnovo Constitution was adopted several years after the end of the Turkish rule of Bulgaria in 1878].

Asked about the use of strikes in resolving socioeconomic issues, Zhelev "refrains from a simple answer," stresses that "everything depends on the specific circumstances," but states that strikes are "a necessary weapon in the hands of the working people."

Zhelev later develops his views on the "autonomy of the higher education establishments," and describes his personal experience with political repressions after his Ph.D. dissertation "in which he dared to dispute .... Lenin," and after the publication of his book "Fascism," "in which our former first leader recognized himself." Asked about "the greatest damage caused to Bulgaria by Zhivkov and his system," Zhelev answers: "The fact that under Zhivkov, corruption was elevated to the status of state policy!"

Zhelev later denies that he had ambitions to be chairman of the State Council, asserts that "he receives no wages from the Union of the Democratic Forces," and, in conclusion, points out that he opposes those who demand "doing everything immediately," because "every process has its own logical development."

Spokesman on Withdrawal of Soviet Troops

LD0901112890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] At a press briefing in Prague today, Lubos Dobrovsky, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman, declared that Soviet troops should leave Czechoslovakia by the end of 1990. He added that we regarded the treaty on the stationing of Soviet troops on our territory as null from the very outset.

Havel To Visit USSR in Early Feb

LD0801190490 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union early this February at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

Mohorita Comments on Confederation With Poland

LD0801200990 Prague CTK in English 1908 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Report on news conference with Vasil Mohorita, Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, in Prague on 8 January]

[Text] Prague Jan 8 (CTK)—Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, told a press conference here today that a party congress could be held probably in May this year but the final decision would be made by by the Central Committee session on February 17.

Commenting on the idea of a Czechoslovak-Polish confederation Mohorita said that the party has not taken any stand on it. "My personal opinion is that Czechoslovakia should have its place as a state in the middle of Europe," Mohorita added. The Czechoslovak Communist Party will support cooperation with all countries and will see to it that it does not become economically and politically dependent on any country.

The Communist Party first secretary called for the setting up of a commission of independent experts to work out an assessment of the personality of Klement Gottwald. This applies fully to the putsch in February 1948, the events of 1968-1969 and other issues, and added that the communist party will take a stand on the 1948 events. [sentence as received]

Asked about what he thought about the perspectives of a modern left in Czechoslovakia in the nineties' Vasil Mohorita replied that such a prospect exists and will be strengthened with the process of renewal going on in Eastern Europe.

Several thousand officials have already left the apparatus of the party. Its reorganization should be accomplished by the end of May this year. Altogether some 8,000 people are expected to leave.

Vasil Mohorita confirmed the news that Valtr Komarek, first deputy premier of the federal government, terminated his party membership. Mohorita also expects that tens and hundreds of thousands of members will leave the communist party in future. He also confirmed that the Communist Party Central Commitee will move to other premises.

The cases of corruption by former party officials should be investigated and settled by the end of January, Mohorita added.

Specifying the composition of those members who are turning back their party cards Mohorita said that part of them fear that their professional position could be put under a threat by their party affiliation. The other part are careerists who should have never been allowed to join the party. The newly approved members are predominantly young people.

Ministry Group Leaves for Israel To Discuss Ties

LD0801190290 Prague CTK in English 1807 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 8 (CTK)—A two-member delegation of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry left for Israel today for talks on the resumption of diplomatic ties between Czechoslovakia and Israel.

The delegation is led by Departmental Head Vaclav Jizdny.

Diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed in 1967.

Foreign Minister To Visit Hungary 12-13 Jan

LD0801141790 Prague CTK in English 1326 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier will pay a visit to Hungary on January 12-13, at the invitation of his Hungarian counterpart Gyula Horn.

Officials, Groups React to Sudeten Issue

Havel Quoted on Issue

AU0901101590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report from the "In Reply to a Reader's Question" column: "On the Apology To Sudeten Germans"]

[Excerpt] Many readers are asking about the exact wording of the opinions that were expressed by Vaclav Havel on Czechoslovak Television on 23 December regarding the need to apologize to the repatriated [odsunuti] Sudeten Germans. We quote his statement,

according to a video recording of the interview. Replying to a television viewer's question communicated by M. Skarlandtova, V. Havel said:

"I do not want to deal with this topic; I can only state my own opinion. I think that Czechoslovakia's borders should not be changed and that none of the repatriated [Germans] should come back here. But I think that it is our obligation to apologize to the Germans who were repatriated after World War II because it was a severe act which deprived several million people of their homes. It was, in fact, an evil committed in retaliation for a previous evil. I think that if we respond to evil with evil we will only perpetuate this evil. This is, of course, and I repeat it, my private opinion. Another matter is what conclusions will be reached by legislative bodies, the government, commissions of experts, and the public." [passage omitted]

Havel Letter Cited

AU0801204590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 1

["ZR"-signed Bonn dispatch: "V. Havel in Personal Letter of Early November to the FRG President: 'I Condemn the Expulsion of Germans'"]

[Text] Bonn— In his Christmas address of 22 December, FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker said:

"The Czech freedom fighter Vaclav Havel, this year's laureate of our peace prize, was not allowed to attend its presentation in Frankfurt am Main. This is why he wrote me a remarkable letter at the beginning of November, from which I quote: I personally, just like many of my friends, condemn the expulsion [vyhnani] of Germans after the war. I have always regarded it as an act of the most profound immorality, which caused not only the Germans but—possibly on an even greater scale—also the Czechs moral as well as material damage. When one responds to evil with a different evil, the evil is not suppressed but perpetuated."

Adamec Disagrees With Havel

AU0901102390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Statement by Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: Apology for the Transfer? No!"]

[Text] These days I receive a large amount of letters from party members, people without party affiliation, and members of other political parties, from our country's citizens. They express, often in a very agitated fashion, disagreement with the views, according to which it is necessary to apologize to the Sudeten Germans for their transfer [odsun] from our country. These views were expressed in the most pronounced way before Christmas Eve by Vaclav Havel, the current president of the republic, when he declared on television that "it is our obligation to apologize to the Germans who were repatriated after World War II."

I declare emphatically and resolutely that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and I personally disagree with apologizing to the Sudeten Germans for their transfer from our country and shall never agree with it—not only for historical reasons but, in particular, for reasons of the defense of our supreme state and national interests.

The transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia after World War II was carried out on the basis of the Potsdam agreement of the victorious allied powers. Its aim was to prevent any future misuse of the German ethnic minority to support Pan-Germanic expansiveness. At that time our nations welcomed this decision as a deed serving to secure peace for our country, including its future peace. The decision on transferring Germans was also fully supported by President Edvard Benes and all political parties in Czechoslovakia.

It must not be forgotten that Henlein's Sudeten German Party, which in the 1938 general elections received the votes of more than 90 percent of voters of German nationality in the then Czechoslovak Republic, voluntarily and willingly became a tool in Hitler's hands serving to break up the Czechoslovak Republic and destroy our state. And I must point out that to this very day a number of leaders of German resettler [presidlenci] organizations from the CSSR demand "self-determination and the right to their homeland," which means, in fact, that they continue to stand on the positions of the Munich Agreement which crippled Czechoslovakia, led to the loss of its independence, to our nations' enslavement and immense suffering, and to the loss of almost 380,000 of our country's citizens' lives.

Furthermore, an apology for the transfer is inadmissible also because it would undoubtedly lead many of the organizations of German resettlers operating across our border to raise further demands questioning Europe's postwar development and making difficult, if not preventing altogether, to build a common European home.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia seeks the creation of an atmosphere of international understanding, trust, and cooperation. We support our government's foreign policy which is aimed at reinforcing Czechoslovakia's role in this process. We are in favor of deepening good relations with our German neighbors and want to help build a new Europe. However, we have always borne in mind, and will do so in the future, the our nations' innermost interests, from the defense of which we will never back away.

War Veterans Protest Dienstbier Remarks

AU0901060490 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 2

["SE"-signed report: "Once Again About the Transfer"]

[Text] Lieutenant General F. Sadek, deputy chairman of the Federal Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Fighters' Union [CSSPB], asked CTK to publish a statement by CSSPB members:

Even though J. Dienstbier, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, explained at the joint session of Federal Assembly chambers [on 19 December] that the apology for the transfer [odsun] of Sudeten Germans concerns the way in which the transfer was carried out, CSSPB members nevertheless protest against it.

In hundreds of letters, telephone calls, and personal and collective visits to the CSSPB Central Committee, CSSPB members are expressing their disagreement in principle with an apology. Though the transfer certainly was no easy matter for the German citizens, its realization was not as drastic as, for example, the transportations to concentration camps.

CSSPB members describe these efforts [to apologize to the Sudeten Germans] as a mockery of the victims and fighters against fascism in the years of 1938-45. If our state apologizes for the transfer of Germans, this act should be preceded by a declaration of the other side—an apology by both German states and the landsmannschaften [organizations of German expellees] for all acts of hostility toward the Czechoslovak people.

Members of the CSSPB believe that moral right is on our side. It is also necessary to emphasize that the transfer of the Sudeten Germans was not a one-sided act by our state but that it was a decision of the victorious powers.

Havel Receives Award From French Minister

LD0701193990 Prague CTK in English 1813 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received here today French Minister for Cultural Affairs and Information Jack Lang.

The French minister handed over to Vaclav Havel the Order of Literature which was last year awarded to him for his work by the French Ministry of Culture.

Vaclav Havel said that is the first foreign order which he received in the post of president.

Shortly after the meeting, the French minister and his entourage left for Paris.

Pope Sends Message to Cardinal Tomasek

AU0501210090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 2 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "The Pope's Prayer"]

[Text] On Saturday [30 December], Pope John Paul II expressed pleasure at the election of Vaclav Havel as CSSR president and Alexander Dubcek as chairman of the Federal Assembly. In a telegram addressed to Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague, the Pope wrote that in these times, which are so significant for Czechoslovakia, he is joining his [Tomasek's] prayer and asks God to protect the head of the Czechoslovak state. Cardinal A. Casarolli, state secretary of the Vatican, also congratulated the new representatives of the Czechoslovak state.

Komarek, Dlouhy End CPCZ Membership

LD0801203190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Lubos Lidicky report on news conference with Vasil Mohouta, Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; and Frantisek Adamek, (Jiri Machalik), and Ondrej Saling, new secretaries of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, in Prague on 8 January—live or recorded]

[Text] Frantisek Adamek, (Jiri Machalik), and Ondrej Saling were introduced as new secretaries of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee at a CPCZ news conference today. Along with Vasil Mohorita, they answered numerous questions. Lubos Lidicky reports:

[Begin Lidicky recording] The regular CPCZ congress is expected to be in May. The next session of the Central Committee in February will determine its exact date. With regard to the party apparatus, 8,000 of its workers should leave by the end of May. This is approximately 70 percent.

At the district level, there will only be two functions that will be filled everywhere: head secretary and an economist. Every district committee will itself decide on the rest of the staff according to its funds. Regional committees will be abolished.

The existing Central Committee building was offered to a number of institutions. An agreement was concluded with the Ministry of Justice.

When asked whether the CPCZ will enter into a coalition with another party by the time of the elections, Vasil Mohorita said this will be decided during the election campaign. When asked whether the party will provide its archive material to a commission of historians for scientific reassessment of the past, he said that it will. One of these commissions is chaired by Professor (Cera). Vasil Mohorita also said a party commission to assess the degree of political guilt for the current situation will report its results by the end of January.

When asked how many members have left the party, so far we learned that 130,000 members have ended their membership, among them Vladimir Dlouhy and Valtr Komarek, members of the federal government. [end recording]

CPCZ Membership Decreased in 1989

LD0801154490 Prague CTK in English 1453 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 8 (CTK)—The decreasing number of members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the liquidation of primary organizations at workplaces reflect the crisis in the party.

A total of 14,045 persons left the party in the first nine months of 1989. Their number reached 66,290 on December 19, 1989. Today the number of people who have decided to leave the party is about 130,800.

The greatest number of membership cards have been returned in the Prague party organization (30,000). 7,337 primary organizations ended their activities by January 4, 1990.

Some Czech Parliament Deputies Resign

LD0801162890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The Czech National Council Presidium met today. [passage omitted] The Czech National Council Presidium acknowledged the resignation of deputies Josef Kempny, Frantisek Kincl, Marie Jarosova, Jaroslav Prokopec and others, whose deputy's mandate elapsed at today's session.

Commentator Views Havel's Election

AU0801212390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Dec 89 p 2

[Milan Jelinek commentary: "On the Election"]

[Text] The election of the president winds up a brief, stormy, and impassioned period of great changes in our society. It will be followed by a period of contest between ideas, political programs, and standpoints, which will culminate in free elections. We are still at the beginning of the creation of a new system of political pluralism, of new social and state structures, by means of which we want to implement the program of Czechoslovak democracy, a community of equal and free people, a truly socialist society, with which, and there can be no doubt about it, the majority of our people link their hopes.

Vaclav Havel became the only candidate for the post of president and received the votes of all deputies, that is, including the Communist ones, who are the majority in the current parliament. This is the outcome of an agreement reached at the roundtable, of an agreement arrived at by representatives of all political forces. Herein lies the peculiarity of our nascent democracy. The president's election is in its own way a symbolic expression of the policy of national understanding and the ultimate confirmation of the communist party's parting of ways with the Stalinist deformations of the past. The government took shape at the roundtable and it was also there that the principles of major constitutional changes were adopted, changes on the basis of which the Parliament has been complemented with new members. This is also how Alexander Dubcek was elected head of Parliament and how the president was elected. In a complicated process of searching and sorting out views, which takes place inside each of us, we are proceeding toward a society in which the principle of direct elections by secret ballot will govern, in which the weight of the vote of the citizen, of the voter, will be decisive on the political scales. Meanwhile, this is not the case.

The president, who was inaugurated at Prague Castle on Friday, is an unmistakable personality. Vaclav Havel is a brave man who steadfastly defends his views, even at the cost of personal suffering, and in this respect he has not betrayed one of the fundamental requirements of morality.

He has never spoken out in favor of socialism, but he protests when he is branded as its enemy. On the basis of Vaclav Havel's numerous public appearances, especially in the last few weeks, everyone has had the opportunity to form his own opinion about the personality of today's president. This is the inalienable right of the citizen of a democratic state.

Mr president often speaks about love, justice, and resistance to hatred and revengefulness. He is an energetic defender of individual human rights. After all, tolerance and the ability to understand someone else and to defend his rights as one's own are inseparable attributes of democracy. We trust that he will shield them through the influence of his personality and through the authority of the highest position in the state which he occupies.

A politician is at Prague Castle who understands better than anyone else the idea of the famous French man of enlightenment Voltaire—I disagree with your view, but I shall fight to the last drop of blood to defend your right to say this. To the president we hope that this wisdom will remain his credo, in the interest and to the benefit of all of us whom he represents as head of state, in the spirit of the policy of national understanding.

Czechoslovak Green Party Formed

LD0601184690 Prague CTK in English 1738 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 6 (CTK)—Representatives of preparatory committees of the Greens Party from Slovakia, Moravia, Silesia and Bohemia met here today and agreed on a united action in forming the Greens Party in Czechoslovakia.

The party first congress is to take place in Brno, South Moravia, on February 17-18.

The participants in today's meeting created groups which will prepare the party statutes and the agenda and other documents of the congress, and set up preparatory coordinating land committees.

New Liberal European Party Founded

AU0701203090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] A new party—the Liberal European Party [LIBERALNI EVROPSKA STRANA] (LES)—was founded on 16 December last year. It issued a statement outlining its program and asked the CSSR Ministry of Interior for registration. The party supports the Civic Forum's democratic program. It assumes a critical attitude toward further attempts at improving the so-called socialist state economy and considers private enterprise to be the most important guarantee of economic progress.

New Czech Deputy Ministers of Culture Appointed

AU0801105990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] Milan Lukes, minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, has instituted a new organizational structure of the ministry, effective 1 January 1990. He appointed Helena Siktancova and Josef Simon as new deputy ministers. Alex Koenigsmark has been appointed director of the ministry's arts section.

New Czech Prosecutor General Appointed

LD0801143490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] At its meeting today chaired by Chairman Jaroslav Safark, the presidium of the Czech National Council appointed Pavel (Rychetsky) as the prosecutor general of the Czech Socialist Republic. This was done at the proposed of Czechoslovak Prosecutor General Pavel Sitar. The meeting also, accepted the resignation of Stanislav Kukral, minister—chairman of the Committee of People's Control of the Czech Socialist Republic, in connection with his election to the office of first deputy chairman of the Federal Assemby. The meeting also took note of the resignation of some Czech national council deputies whose mandate as deputies had expired.

Ban on Political Activity in Education Sector

AU0901092890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Without Political Parties"]

[Text] Prague—In conjunction with the abolition of Article 4 of the CSSR Constitution [about the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], Milan Adam, minister of education, youth, and physical training of the Czech Socialist Republic, announces that the activity of political parties at workplaces of the ministry and in organizations that are directly subordinated to the ministry is inadmissible. At the same time the minister recommends that the chairmen of regional and district national committees proceed analogously with regard to schools and educational establishments which are supervised by them.

DFC Spokesman Rejects Urbanek as Party Leader

AU2112101389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 89 p 4

[Interview with Rudolf Prevratil, press spokesman for the Democratic Forum of Communists, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Dalibor Macha and PRAVDA staff journalist Vit Suchy; date and place given: "We Want People With a New Style"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] In the 3 weeks of its existence, the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFC] has grown so much that it now has over 60,000 followers all over Czechoslovakia. The statements made by its representatives at the Extraordinary Communist Party of Slovakia Congress in Bratislava met with a favorable response. Now, on the eve of the Extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress, we asked Rudolf Prevratil, the DFC press spokesman, for the DFC's latest stands.

[Macha, Suchy] Do you think that these developments mark the end of socialism in Czechoslovakia?

[Prevratil] This is a superficial view. Quite the reverse, all sociological surveys show that the overwhelming majority of the population wishes a socialist development or a development with strong socialist elements.

[Macha, Suchy] That is, Communists are not written off.

[Prevratil] In our opinion, Communists will operate as one of the left-wing forces upholding a socialist policy. At the same time we have to realize that we will have no monopoly on socialism.

[Macha, Suchy] You have spoken about the left wing. Who is it?

[Prevratil] I would include in it the ecological party and the renewed social democratic party; furthermore, the existing Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Obroda [Revival] club, the Democratic Forum of Communists, and the CPCZ as a whole.

[Macha, Suchy] A bad legacy of this left wing is connected with the CPCZ's monopoly.

[Prevratil] This is precisely what the congress must ponder and what its chief task is—it must dissociate itself from the deformed image of socialism. We are, unfortunately, bearers of undemocratic practices. Mafias and power groups, which still have a great and real influence, continue to exist in the party.

[Macha, Suchy] Okay. Let us now leave aside the evaluation of the past and tell us what your idea of the congress' outcome would be.

[Prevratil] We want new people in the leadership. With the exception of a few individuals we do not see anyone in the present party leadership who would not carry the burden of the old thinking and old ties. This also holds true for Karel Urbanek. Should someone propose him, it would be a very bad omen for us.

[Macha, Suchy] What should happen next?

[Prevratil] The apparatus must be built in a completely new way. We have heard that the apparatus will be reduced to about 40 percent of its present size. What is necessary, however, is to dissolve the apparatus and to start building it completely from scratch, according to a democratic order determined by the congress.

[Macha, Suchy] These are organizational questions. And what about programmatic ones?

[Prevratil] The CPCZ must analyze, at least in a rudimentary way, the causes of the main deformations which occurred after 1968. This is surely a complicated matter but there is no other way of creating a basis for coming to terms with the monopolies and cliques and their exponents. We will demand at the congress that it adopt a declaration on the CPCZ's responsibility for its policy and on the democratic principles of the party's policy in the future.

[Macha, Suchy] You seem to consider this to be a key issue.

[Prevratil] Yes. It will be according to this that supporters of the DFC and, evidently, hundreds of thousands of [other] Communists will consider whether to stay in the CPCZ or not. I repeat again, however, that the DFC does not want a split in the party or a secession from it. Indeed, this would be an extreme solution. [passage omitted]

[Macha, Suchy] What do you think the immediate future has in store for Czechoslovakia?

[Prevratil] As far as the basic ideas are concerned, I suppose that we are in store for a belated but relatively short period of liberal conservatism, to which the left will have to face up. I am confident, however, that it will be followed by a period of new, modern, left-wing ideas and politics for the 21st century.

[Macha, Suchy] Thank you for the interview.

Policemen in Slovakia Found Trade Union

AU0801094590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] Nove Zamky (CTK)—At a constituent meeting, members of the district administration of the National Security Corps [SNB] in Nove Zamky have founded the Trade Union of SNB Members. After spreading throughout the CSSR, this organization is to be a unified, voluntary social organization of SNB members, regardless of function, rank, political affiliation, nationality, religion, race, or sex. It will develop its activity independently of political parties, organizations, and movements. The organization will take care of members' social interests and rights, foster their initiative, and take part in drafting laws and other legal stipulations regulating relations within the SNB. It fully accepts the principle of indivisible powers of commanders, but will protect its members against the misuse of that principle. The coordination committee calls on all SNB members to support this trade union movement and to set up primary organizations of the trade union at their places of work.

Ex-Official's Sale of State Art Investigated

AU0801114490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Who Wanted a Sellout?"]

[Text] Prague— In connection with indications from the public about the role of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Socialist Republic in preparing the sale by auction of some articles from the collections of several Czech museums and art galleries through the Christie's auction house in London, Milan Lukes, minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, ordered an inquiry into the course taken by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Socialist Republic in this matter thus far.

It has been proved that the former minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, his deputy, the director of the ministry's arts section, as well as the head of the ministry's fine arts department had been informed about the project and had conducted preliminary negotiations in this regard.

The minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic will assess the degree of their responsibility and will in the near future draw the appropriate conclusions.

New Wave of Demonstrations Takes Place

Protest at Soviet Memorial

LD0801221690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2039 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Gera (ADN)—Several thousand inhabitants of Gera today followed an appeal for a demonstration at the Soviet memorial in Gera, where graves were descreated by youths on New Year's Eve. The Area Executive of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], the area committee of the Antifascist Resistance Fighters, and the Society for German-Soviet Friendship made a call for this under the slogan: "Nip things in the bud! Give no chance to anti-communism, chauvinism, and neo-fascism!"

The area chairman of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, Professor Dr Johannes Gessner, recalled that the Soviet Union had borne the major burden in World War II in the struggle against German fascism and called for a broad coalition of reason against hatred among nations and chauvinism. Several speakers from the SED-PDS called for vigilance toward and political resistance against neo-fascism. [passage omitted]

Anti-SED-PDS Protest

LD0801210190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2035 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Frankfurt (ADN)—Between 10,000 and 15,000 citizens responded to a demonstration appeal from New Forum and the SDP [Social Democratic Party] in Frankfurt (Oder) city center this evening. Amid loud applause, seven speakers called for the party property of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] to be made public, for the conversion of its area newspaper NEUER TAG into an independent daily newspaper, for the immediate and total discharge of all "Stasi and Nasi [state security and national security] members," for the complete dissolution and evacuation of all buildings, and for the placing of documents in archives in a neutral place. They opposed special privileges for former members of the National Security Office and for party and state officials, as well as "panic-mongering" by the SED-PDS with relation to the neo-Nazi threat.

Further demands related to equality of opportunity in the media, the return of the "property stolen from the people by the SED," and the immediate publication of a draft electoral law.

Leipzig Demonstration

LD0801192790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1824 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Peace services in four Leipzig churches formed the prelude today to the 1990 demonstrations in Leipzig. In the Nikolaikirche, a Polish visitor spoke on justice, peace, and the integrity of creation. Superintendent Friedrich Magirius justified to ADN his proposal, put forward at the roundtable, to hold future meetings on the Ring without rallies. Considerations of election tactics must not be allowed to damage the democratic character of this internationally respected expression of the citizens' will. The Monday meeting of Leipzig citizens of differing ideologies and of visitors should further advance the process of democratization in the country, which has begun to flag. Meetings on the Leipzig Ring immediately after the peace prayers will mark a return to the form that existed at the start of the revolutionary movement in the GDR.

About 30,000 to 40,000 people took part in the first demonstration in Leipzig this year, which was also the first for 3 weeks.

Further on Leipzig

LD0801182690 Hamburg DPA in German 1726 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (DPA)—Following a 3-week break, the traditional Monday demonstrations resumed in Leipzig this evening with several tens of thousands of people taking part. The major topics on the Market Square and the Leipzinger Ring, which circumscribes the inner city, were calls for German unity and strong criticism of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. According to Radio GDR, about 30,000 to 40,000 people gathered in the city center. According to observers, the advocates of German unity were almost entirely unopposed on this occasion.

There were banners and chants calling for: "Germany—single Fatherland", "We are one people" and "One people—One fatherland". The chairman of the SED-PDS, Gregor Gysi, was advised to resign. "Gysi must go" it was said, and "End the SED." The demonstration took place without a rally or speeches, as proposed by church leader Friedrich Magirius. The New Forum and other groups did not take responsiblity for the event this time. As the atmosphere has become increasingly heated because of the German question, the churches have also already withdrawn more and more from what has been their traditional peace prayers.

At the last demonstration on 18 December, over 100,000 GDR citizens marched silently through Leipzig carrying candles, commemorating the victims of Stalinism. [passage omitted]

Magdeburg Rally Opposes SED

LD0801212690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2045 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—Thousands of Magdeburg citizens gathered in the cathedral in Magdeburg this evening for the "prayer for social renewal." In view of increasing discontent over stagnation and the strengthening of yesterday's forces, as well as the continuing leading role of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] in all media, it

is important in enterprise and state spheres to continue to work vigilantly and consistently for the renewal and democratization of the country. This is stated in a communication prepared together with the citizens initiatives and issued by the cathedral advisory group.

Before the prayer, the citizens committee reported on its activities. Results of the commission of enquiry into the dissolution of the former Ministry for State Security were made known. A representative of the People's Police gave the assurance that never in Magdeburg will there be conditions such as in Romania. From the coming week, demonstrations are once again being prepared in Magdeburg, it was reported.

On the first Monday after the new year, a political forum on the "refortification of the SED in the mirror of the media" found animated participation in the neighboring Catholic Church, following the prayer in Magdeburg Cathedral.

Cottbus Protest Against SED

LD0801210290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1920 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—Under the motto "Romania is a warning," thousands of Cottbus citizens took part in a demonstration on Monday evening that had been called by the New Forum initiative group of the area town. In chants and on banners they called "Down with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]," "Put the Stasi to work," and "No votes for the SED." Black-red-gold flags without the emblem [of the GDR] were also carried in the procession. The call "Germany, united fatherland" rang out repeatedly.

At a subsequent rally, speakers from various new parties demanded information on the wealth of the SED-PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] and the elimination of this party's monopoly of the media.

Rally in Karl-Marx-Stadt

LD0801205690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1913 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Over 50,000 inhabitants of the Karl-Marx-Stadt demonstrated this evening for free trade unions and the right to strike.

At a rally, representatives of the New Forum, Democratic Awakening, the Green Party, and the Social Democratic Party expressed the view that workers in the enterprises must, henceforth, be guaranteed a general democratic participation. An initiative group has been set up in the city for this purpose. In the future, work force councils will represent the interests of the workers. The Free German Trade Union Federation only operated as an extended arm of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and did not allow the workers genuine democracy. Without free, independent trade unions there will be no democracy. There must be an end, once and for all, to the hitherto prevailing absence of rights of the work force.

After the rally, the demonstrators processed through the city center. They carried numerous slogans, calling for "unity, law and freedom for Germany," "Free elections," and also "Stasi out at last."

Halle Citizens Protests

LD0801204590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1912 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—Thousands of Halle citizens followed the New Forum appeal at the first Monday demonstration in the new decade at the flags monument. Following one of the slogans attached on New Year's Eve to the massive concrete flag, the rally participants expressed agreement to change the "flame of revolution" into a "colorful sail of the turning point." There is, for example, the proposal to make a flag of Europe from the monument with the help of painters from Halle.

New Forum representatives demanded a real system of democratic participation and the integration of Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism members under normal conditions of labor law without privileges. This party's policy of restoration should be decisively opposed. The New Forum acquainted the Halle citizens with the proposal to form control commissions from representatives of the work force, the management, and the territory to everywhere in the enterprises secure high efficiency in production.

One-thousand copies of the "first independent Halle newspaper, THE OTHER PAPER" appeared for the first time today.

5,000 in Neubrandenburg

LD0801203290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1917 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—During a peaceful demonstration in Karl-Marx-Square in Neubrandenburg, representatives of the Social Democratic Party and of New Forum this evening demanded information on the property and the financing of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. In connection with the elections on 6 May, they called for equal opportunity, for example, the publication of independent newspapers under public control.

Gerhard Stoll of New Forum informed the 5,000 or so participants of an appeal for countrywide demonstrations on 15 January against the restoration policy of the SED-PDS and its security apparatus.

Protests in Schwerin

LD0801193290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1901 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—The 8,000 or so participants in a demonstration this evening in the Mecklenburg Area city of Schwerin opposed right-wing extremism and exploitation of the present political situation by the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of

Democratic Socialism]. They were responding to the appeal from New Forum to proceed silently through the city center after the traditional peace prayers under the motto of the consistent continuation of the peaceful revolution. Some banners called for the dissolution and the dispossession of the SED-PDS and for vigilance against renewed abuses of power by this party. A few participants in the peaceful march held black, red, and gold flags and slogans in favor of the reunification of the two German states.

In the district town of Gadebush, hundreds of inhabitants went into the street to draw attention to the increasing pollution of the city center by the "onslaught of cars and heavy goods vehicles," according to a demonstration appeal from the New Forum. The demonstrators, including members of the People's Police, expressed their dissatisfaction with the increasing danger to children and elderly citizens and with the growing pollution from exhaust fumes.

Roundtable Meets; Briefed on Security Office

LD0801114690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1056 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government representative for the dissolution of the Office for National Security, Peter Koch, briefed on Monday the roundtable on current steps for the dissolution of the Office. With immediate effect one person in a position of trust and three further representatives of the opposition will be able to cooperate in his commission.

All the weapons of the current office are to be impounded by the end of this month and handed over to the ministries for National Defense or Internal Affairs, Koch said. The public will be informed about this by 1 February. Already now the possibility of weapons being removed by former employees of the office has been prevented.

According to the government representative, 25,965 employees left the services of the office by 5 January. All the former 216 district offices have been vacated and 85 percent of them handed over to new owners.

All the dwellings of the former office have been handed over to the local housing authorities. The use of the former holiday centers of the office will be handed over in the future to the trade union's holiday service and, to a lesser extent, to hard-currency tourism.

It is the intention of the government to examine and revise the arrangement of bridging loan payments for former employees of the office, Koch announced. The roundtable will be informed about this on 29 January.

Representatives of the opposition parties and groupings demanded further details about the remaining personnel and the disarming as well as the logistics of the former office. They objected to the employment by successor organizations—such as an Office for the Protection of the Constitution—of those employees of the Office [for National Security] who in their view are too incriminated. They generally came out against the creation of such an Office [for the Protection of the Constitution] without the consent of the roundtable before the elections.

Security Office Briefing

LD0801123190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1143 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—According to the government representative for the dissolution of the Office for National Security, Peter Koch, spying on the GDR citizens can be discounted from now on. Koch announced at the roundtable on Monday that the structures necessary for this no longer exist. For instance, the installations for telephone tapping are now useless and will be dismantled. State Secretary Walter Halbritter added that the central data store of the office has been secured, sealed, and is inaccessible.

In reply to a question, the government representative said that about 60,000 employees of the office remain out of a total of over 85,000. The further dissolution can proceed only gradually. It has to be borne in mind that a start was only made on 14 December last year. Furthermore, the absorption of former office employees by industry presents a problem. [passage omitted]

Telex on Opposition

LD0801123590 Hamburg DPA in German 1136 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The opposition at the roundtable wants information from the GDR Government about a telex that is said to originate from the Gera Area (bezirk) authorities of the Office for National Security and that called for the paralyzing of the opposition. Rolf Henrich from New Forum and other representatives of the new groups said today that they were "very shocked" by the contents of this telex. An examination had to be carried out to see whether the telex that the opposition had was authentic.

Peter Koch, the government representative for the dissolution of this office, should quickly see whether this telex actually originated from workers in the office. Henrich said: The document of 9 December called "in its contents for a coup d'etat." It was the attempt to interfere in political relations, and with violence.

Koch said that he personally did not know about the telex. If the document originated from the "Stasi" [officials at the former Ministry of State Security], then he would institute charges against the authors. Further questions on the subject of security that are still open were to be cleared up on 29 January in the "Report on Security." Socialist Unity Party of Germany leader Gregor Gysi and other party representatives said that they were not familiar with the alleged "Stasi" telex. They also promised an examination. [passage omitted]

Existence of Telex Confirmed

LD0801213190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2030 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Gera (ADN)—Trostorf, head of the Area Office for National Security in Gera, which is being dissolved at the moment, confirmed on Monday the existence of a telex originating from his office that was criticized by participants in the roundtable. At the same time, he rejected responsibility for this communication. [passage omitted]

In a statement conveyed to ADN on Monday, the head of the office explained that on 9 December 1989 such a telex was sent by "the collective of the Gera Area Office for National Security and District Offices" to a large circle of recipients throughout the GDR. It was headed "Today it's us, tomorrow it's you!" and appealed for preservation of the socialist state in the GDR. According to his information, the recipients of the telex were the prime minister, the acting State Council chairman, the Presidium of the People's Chamber, the interior minister, all area directorates of the People's Police, the defense minister, the head of the Office for National Security, all area Offices of National Security, the chairmen of the parties represented in the People's Chamber, GDR television and radio, and ADN.

The statement signed by Trostorf says: "This telex was written by several representatives of the collective and sent on their own authority. Its entire contents are not shared by all employees. There was no consultation with me, as acting head of the area office, as I was at the time in Berlin. I only became aware of this letter from statements made at the roundtable on 8 January. An appeal to overturn the process of democracy in the GDR cannot be assumed because a broad public sphere, including the media, was selected as recipients." He stressed further that he thought such appeals were inappropriate and destabilizing.

Bomb Threat to Premises

LD0801124590 Hamburg DPA in German 1215 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The break in the roundtable session that was called for by the GDR opposition at noon today is to last until 1400. The opposition groups and parties announced that they needed an hour in order to formulate a resolution on how it should continue after the insufficient information from the government on the dissolution of the Office for National Security. The opposition protested "energetically" against the behavior of the government representative. The statements hitherto have been completely inadequate. Observers now no longer rule out the possibility of the round table collapsing.

After television had left transmission [of the roundtable], it was announced that there had once again been an anonymous bomb threat. As a result of this, the hall where the session is taking place was searched.

Opposition Postpones Talks

LD0801140290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1330 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Monday, opposition parties and groupings temporarily withdrew from the roundtable in Berlin. In a statement read by Wolfgang Schnur (Democratic Awakening), participants called on GDR Premier Modrow to report at 1600 on Monday afternoon, together with the interior minister and the prosecutor general, on GDR internal security. The roundtable negotiations will be adjourned until then.

The joint statement expressed no confidence in government representative Koch and State Secretary Halbritter, who this morning were unable to answer questions concerning the dissolution of the Office for National Security.

Premature End Advocated

LD0801154690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Twenty-four of the 35 participants in the roundtable advocated the premature ending of the meeting at the Niederschoenhausen Castle, Berlin, on Monday afternoon. They endorsed a motion by government parties that was supported by the New Forum. The next meeting at which members of the government will appear has been set for 15 January.

Earlier, State Secretary Walter Halbritter announced that Premier Hans Modrow is at present on his way to Sofia to attend a CEMA council meeting at head of government level. He will return on 10 January and only then can he meet the demands made by the opposition parties and groupings. [passage omitted]

Proceedings Instituted Against 30 Ex-Officials

LD0801183190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1728 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There are, at present, preliminary proceedings in progress against 30 former top GDR officials, who are charged with abuse of office and corruption. The majority of them are under arrest, the press office of the GDR prosecutor general told ADN today.

Honecker, who is too ill to be arrested, was admitted to the hospital on Sunday, according to the same source. Those against whom proceedings have been instituted include 10 former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo members; former Christian Democratic Union Chairman Goetting; five former SED area secretaries; several former Central Committee directors of departments, including the former director of the Finance Department, and other leading state officials, including ex-State Secretaries Martini (construction industry) and Shalck-Golodkowski (commercial coordination sphere); General Wolf, the former head of the personal protection section in the Ministry for State Security; and Schmidt, former head of the Wandlitz estate.

Conditions are being created where, under the direction of the Prosecutor General's Office or of the prosecuting attorneys of the areas, inquiry groups of the Ministry for Internal Affairs oculd work with concentration and thoroughness in bringing about a swift conclusion to the investigations.

The first charges, for disloyalty and abuse of trust, can be expected in February. This concerns, among other things, proceedings against the accused, Kleiber and Nennstiel. Further investigations should be concluded in March and April.

No date is yet foreseen for the conclusion of the investigations against Honecker, Mittag, Mielke, and other former SED Politburo members, where the suspicion of yet more serious crimes is to be examined in view of the extent of the complex of criminal activities. Accusations that the proceedings are being protracted have no justification; the constitutional control bodies can verify this at any time.

Ex-SED Officials Go Before Corruption Hearing

LD0901121490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1039 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There have been further public hearings in Berlin today before the ad hoc People's Chamber committee to examine cases of abuse of power, corruption, personal enrichment and other actions suspected of violation of the law.

The first witness to be heard was the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] official Werner Eberlein. Also summoned to appear today is the former chairman of the Central Party Control Commission of the SED Central Committee and Politburo member, Erich Mueckenberger.

The hearings are being chaired by the deputy chairman of the committee, Professor Dr Volker Klemm (NDPD) [National Democratic Party of Germany]

Restrictions on Foreign Journalists Lifted

LD0901115190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1101 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All restrictions on foreign journalists' work in the GDR have been lifted with immediate effect. This was announced at the international press center in Berlin today by Denis Ruh, acting head of the Foreign Ministry Press Department.

The GDR is thereby meeting the international commitments deriving from the CSCE conference agreements. The new decree is an expression of the democratic renewal process in the GDR, the spokesman stressed.

"Foreign correspondents are free to seek access to public and private sources of information and to cultivate corresponding contacts," the new press decree says. They have full travel opportunities in towns and areas. Opinion polls and questioning on the street are permitted at all times.

The government recommends that organizations, combines, and cooperatives support foreign journalists in the legitimate exercising of their activity in accordance with GDR regulations. State institutions are obliged to give this support, the press spokesman stressed. He expressed the expectation that the foreign media, through factual and fair reporting, will reflect the democratic renewal process in the GDR.

Gysi Answers Questions on Neo-Nazism, Elections

AU0801122390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Dec 89 p 3

[Gerd-Uwe Fritsch/Helfried Liebsch report: "Gregor Gysi Talks to Miners from the Eisenhuttenstadt East Metallurgical Combine"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] On Friday [22 December] Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi acquainted himself with the working and living conditions of the miners in the East Metallurgical Combine. [passage omitted]

In the constructive dialogue with the comrades, questions were continuously asked and answers were continuously given. Let us pick out some of them:

Question: What will we do against neo-Nazism?

Answer: We agreed at the roundtable that the border that is open now must not be a floodgate for such ideas, and we created stipulations to enable us to deny entry to certain persons. However, arguments can only be countered by arguments. Our party—that is to say, every comrade—must prove to be a consistent advocate of antifascism.

Question: Is there not the danger that the party will be split?

Answer: The extraordinary party congress has shown that, despite clearly different views on certain issues, our party is aware of its responsibility for the country and also for peace in Europe. The things we have in common outweigh the things that separate us. Mikhail Gorbachev also pointed this out to me during our second telephone conversation: Without the GDR, Europe will be heading for a conflict. If one border falls, the others will follow. The SED-PDS embodies the left in the country. If it does not win, the right will gain the upper hand. I believe that our party will become even smaller, but the danger of a split is warded off for the time being.

Question: Why is the concept of Marxism-Leninism missing in the draft statute?

Answer: Marxism-Leninism is an ingenious scientific method, but so far a quote from Marx has sufficed to substantiate a decision. This has not helped us. We will

use the method, but abandon all "isms" if they become dogmas. However, the exact formulation in the statute can be reconsidered.

Question: What is your party's attitude toward the youth, the Free German Youth [FDJ]?

Answer: This is a great problem that can be only solved by the FDJ and its Central Council. If a socialist youth association is established, it will certainly also be the party's youth association. If, on the other hand, a parent organization is envisioned, things will be different. Every day I get letters from young people who express their determination to fight with us, also many letters that call for more determination. In fact, the young people were always a bit more "leftist." "Rosa Luxemburg" would be a nice name for a socialist youth organization.

Question: How will the party prepare for the election campaign?

Answer: On a whole page of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND we shortly outlined what we advocate, but also what we oppose. We are the party of social security in the country. We advocate the objectives of the working people. We have to organize ourselves in the residential areas. The voters are there. However, this does not mean that the activities in the enterprises will be given up—for the working people whose interests we represent are there—even if a practical matter like a lovingly prepared dinner in the enterprise is at issue. We are for efficiency, productivity, social security, and the performance principle, but against a Greater Germany in the borders of 1937. [passage omitted]

Reasons for 'Homemade' Nationalism Noted

AU0901113390 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 30 Dec 89 p 2

[Carola Schuetze commentary: "When Did the Lessons Stop Reaching the Addressees?]

[Text] Only a few weeks ago the following would have been rejected as character assassination: neo-fascist, nationalist trends in the GDR. In a country that had attached greater importance to the principle of antifascism than almost any other country, and that, for decades, had been ruled by people that had made sacrifices in the struggle against fascism, and by people that had suffered under Hitler, both psychologically and physically. The pupils were able to learn about "practical" antifascism when former fighters came to the young people for discussions and recounted their own experiences of need and oppression that the people had to suffer as a consequence of nationalism and fascism. Even here one could notice the first blank spots. The most decisive one, which was intended to conceal the fact that it was not only the communists that offered resistance to inhuman actions, but that, among others, innumerous Christians also made sacrifices and even gave their own lives.

At what point did this tradition stop reaching the addressees? When and why was it possible that people became indifferent toward the fate of antifascists in the Third Reich, or the sad and oppressive everyday life of foreigners in the FRG? How was it possible that in the GDR a feeling of superiority against others began to appear, against other people whose only "fault" it is that they are different?

In the past, the media were not permitted to write in the appropriate way about existing tendencies of hostility to foreigners in our republic. Manuscripts were written but it was not allowed to publish them; justified, drastic formulations had to be toned down so that black did not exactly change to the color white but at least grey, with which those who were in power were able to live. The old principle was applied here, namely that what must not be, simply cannot be. Yet now it even (officially) exists, although it ought to never have come here: "homemade" nationalism, which is supported all too readily by forces outside the GDR. The target of sprayed slogans of this nationalism has now been the memorial in Treptow. Where is the awareness for the construction of this memorial? Once again the question of whether we have failed has emerged. Have we exaggerated the cult around the soldier with the child in his arms until, ultimately, the contrary of the original objective has occurred? Did we realize too late that the torchlight parades produced sublime feelings among nobody but the organizers any more? Did we not overdo the slogan "under the leadership of the great Soviet power," and have we not sold off our national identity, which was difficult to find for GDR citizens anyway? Many questions (yet certainly, still far too few) have to be answered. After all, history has taught us well enough that the mere fight against things that are worth being fought against makes matters only worse unless, at the same time and above all, we try to find the reasons, even with the risk that the answers may be very unpleasant.

'Unified Front' Against Neo-Fascism Viewed

AU0801154490 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 5 Jan 90 p 1

[Christa Schaffmann commentary: "Together Against the Right"]

[Text] Unified front against the right—this was written, read, and, above all, probably felt by the 250,000 people who on Wednesday [3 January] preferred the cold evening air at the Treptow Monument to their warm apartments, even though no one had sent them and no one was drawing up lists of participants in his mind. If they felt urged, they were urged by the concern that neo-Nazis are raising their heads in our country and that they might shift the democratic change toward the right.

Antifascism, the best thing that stood at the beginning of the existence of the GDR and that has been preserved through today, is still the test for democratic intentions, no matter how varied the understanding of democracy

and the political goals may have become in the meantime. One cannot carry out democratic changes if one is pursued by the fear of a fourth Reich, of brown violence, and of fascist ideology. This is not exaggerated, not blown up, it is not an election campaign trick by the left—this is reality.

And, therefore, no democrat should be afraid of the term unified front. We could replace it by alliance or by other, milder terms. But the term in the newspaper must not stand for illusions in one's mind. Because it does not make the struggle against neo-fascists easier, and it will not make those neo-fascists smear their Nazi slogans in milder tones on graves and memorials and, ultimately, bring them into our election campaign. Let us not forget what effect an ultra-rightist movement may have on the parties that are acting in the entire political spectrum. This is one of the things that we can learn from the FRG.

Domestic Reasons for Neo-Fascism Cited

AU0801151590 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 5 Jan 90 p 2

[Klaus Baschleben commentary: "Against the Danger From the Right"]

[Text] The womb is still fertile. Nazi and nationalist graffiti in Berlin, Gera, Pirna, and Goerlitz; violent attacks on passers-by in Erfurt; blind destruction in a Berlin stairway, as well as increasing hostility toward foreigners in Leipzig and in other places are probably only the tip of a fateful iceberg of increasing neo-fascist and ultra-rightist trends in our country.

The overdue political change that has been forced by the people, as well as the desired and finally implemented opening of the border to the West, are now showing their dark sides. The actions and the ideas of the Republicans as well as other ultra-rightist and neo-fascist FRG groups cannot be overlooked and their unhindered influx into the GDR can hardly be prevented anymore.

But this is not the only thing. Making neo-fascism and ultra-rightism taboos, which was ordered by the former Honecker and Socialist Unity Party administration, prevented both the search for reasons in the GDR and any public and energetic dealing with them. Thus, a fateful seed grew in hiding, being compulsorily disregarded, a seed that is now starting to bloom dangerously.

For the first time, documentation from the Interior Ministry publicly cites domestic reasons. A loss of identity and motivation, above all among young people, but not only among them, are the focal points. And this is also the basis for the approach to counter this increasing danger from the right. One of the essential tasks of the newly initiated democratization process in the GDR will be to eliminate these deficits in ideas and in practical, everyday life. In short: Life in our country has to become worth living again. The social development in the GDR must again become a challenge to everyone to participate in it freely and unhindered, using his individuality and creativity.

Contributing to this must be the deeper meaning of the unified actions by all antifascist, democratic, and humanistic forces in our country, which were called for at the powerful Berlin rally at the defiled Soviet memorial in Treptow—so that the womb from which neo-fascism and ultra-rightism grow will be infertile forever.

Hatred of Foreigners Called 'Exception'

AU0801173990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 90 p 2

[Dieter Wolf editorial: "With Friendliness"]

[Text] Before the end of the year, rowdies stood shouting in front of a foreigners' hostel in Leipzig, and even physically attacked a student from Ethiopia. Is the GDR therefore a country that is hostile toward foreigners? In an interview with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Ehrhard Hexelschneider, director of the Herder Institute, said no. Fortunately, hostility toward foreigners is still an exception. For him—and he is, so to speak, an expert in dealing with people of all colors—our country is one of those with the most solidarity in this world and one that is most closely linked with friendship among peoples.

The acid test was the turn of the year. The postman delivered many letters and packages from Leipzig and from many parts of the GDR to Lumumbastrasse 4, linked with friendly greetings for a happy new year or invitations to family festivities.

Obviously there are also other ways than orgies of hatred in which accumulated aggression is frequently released. "One has to counter the emerging, isolated hatred of foreigners with an offensive of friendliness toward foreigners," Hexelschneider stresses. Everyone is called upon and asked to help cultivate the GDR's good international reputation—also with a friendly smile on the streetcar. This is not a rule for behavior, but a piece of advice one should think about....

Warning Against Hasty Action on Extremism

AU0801191390 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 5 Jan 90 p 2

[Olaf Opitz commentary: "Against the Right, Only From the Left"]

[Text] Common things should develop against the right, against the emerging neo-fascism in our country. However, the atmosphere at the rally at the Treptow memorial was frightening. Those who read the banners and heard the shouts realized what director staged this old-style manifestation. Thousands came with an honest conscience in order to express their will against any kind of ultra-rightism. But they found themselves in an election rally of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism. The condemnation of neo-fascist trends, which was supported by a broad popular movement, was completely absorbed into the election policy concept of this party.

Some speakers from other parties or groups felt not only the cold wind of a January evening in their faces. It must be depressing to be received with loud jeers from among the first rows after stating that one had come directly from the roundtable. Hans-Dieter Raspe came from this body as deputy chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, a body that is discussing the fate of the country controversially, but together. He came to speak for a common cause, to plead for all democrats to stand together against a rightist threat. Despite continual interruptions demanding participation in action, he affirmed the position of the liberals to counter, by political means, the uncontrolled breakout of young people toward the right.

Liberal and free democrats simply do not need calls for action against extremism, from both the right and the left. In both fascist Germany and under Stalinism on German soil they were persecuted, in particular during the years after 1945.

Calls for the assumption of power by workers and soldiers' councils were as suspicious as individual groups in the front rows at the memorial, which loudly called for protection of the Constitution. Were these calls for former jobs?

Thus, there remains the warning against hasty, militant actionism [aktionismus] and against compelling people to form a unified front. The common basis of all democrats against the right has long been there and is not to be doubted in any way.

Neo-Nazism Described as 'Existing Threat'

AU0801135790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Jan 90 p 2

[Peter Berger editorial: "'Trick' With Neo-Nazism?"]

[Text] Neo-fascist danger? Exaggeration! This is what is heard from Liberal and Christian Democratic circles, with an accusing glance at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. It is only a trick by the party; it is bringing out the bogeyman to win votes. However, recent events show that neo-Nazism is not an "invention" of Gysi's, but an existing threat. To deny it only because the SED-PDS is its most energetic opponent is at least questionable.

Was it not just announced to the public by the social democratic side that the existence of the SED-PDS in this country favored the coming into being and growth of ultra-rightist and neo-fascist forces? On the other hand—after the demonstration by 250,000 people at the Soviet memorial in Berlin-Treptow—they do not favor the danger, but exaggerate it. Where is the logic in this? And where are the liberal spirit, Christian ethics, and social democratic responsibility? Neither with one nor with the other is it compatible that a deadly serious topic like fascism—with which the worst experiences of the German people and of the peoples in general, who were overrun by the fascist Wehrmacht, are linked—is abused for propaganda.

We know from history and it is confirmed by the present that, wherever there is a struggle for peace and progress, antifascism is a common task of all democrats, which must be neither suspended nor postponed. Only unity can give strength against brutal force and inhumanity. Mind you, unity, not annexation! In the past annexation has rather proved to be a vehicle of sweeping neo-fascist trends in the society under the rug of "political-moral unity"—in this respect one has to fully agree with the commentators of other parties.

This does not change anything about the historical experience that even before the elections we do not have any other choice in this country than standing together against ultra-rightism—above and beyond any party interests. In the struggle against fascism, the issue is not the momentary advantage of one or the other, the ultimate issue is to be or not to be, and this means in these days: whether democratic elections and the hopes that the people link with them for the future will fulfill their meaning.

Together against neo-fascism and ultra-rightism—this can only make everyone win.

Entry Refused to Neo-Nazi Leader Schoenhuber

LD0801140690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1327 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Franz Schoenhuber, national chairman of the neo-Nazi Republicans, was refused entry to the GDR on Monday by members of the passport control units. ADN has learned from the frontier troops of the GDR that the Republican leader intended to pass the frontier at the Potsdamer Platz in Berlin at 0922 GMT. The futility of his undertaking was made clear to him in a talk that lasted some 10 minutes.

More Neo-Nazi Slogans Appear in Cities

LD0801115990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1126 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Neo-Nazi and right-wing extremist daubings and threats were once again in evidence at the weekend in several GDR cities. The Press Office of the Ministry for Internal Affairs announced that in Frankfurt/Oder swastikas and slogans were noted on a passenger train of Deutsche Reichsbahn [GDR Railways].

Unknown persons daubed slogans on a Berlin city railway carriage on the Friedrichstrasse-Erkner section such as "Turks out," "Russians out," "REPs are coming," [reference to Republicans] as well as swastikas.

A building in Bautzen showed swastikas and SS runes as well as appeals calling for the hanging of all Reds and to

join the REPs. The appeal ended with "Heil Hitler." CID and relevant authorities have begun investigations to catch the culprits.

Daily Rejects CDU Criticism on Neo-Nazi Issue

AU0901123990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jan 90 p 1

[Ingolf Bossenz editorial: "Ghastly"]

[Text] Does the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] need neo-Nazism? This absurd question was answered by the daily of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], NEUE ZEIT, in the following way: "One can openly state this without adding fuel to the flames of the election campaign that is beginning: The SED-PDS would invent fascist and neo-Nazi specters if they did not exist!" The paper also asks whom the provocation of neo-Nazi forces serves. The answer: "Memories of the provocation of the Reichstag fire are bound to obtrude upon one's minds..." The desecration of Soviet monuments as a support for the SED-PDS in the election campaign? Or what else does the author mean by this outrageous allegation?

Bad times seems to be lying ahead of us if a supra-partisan consensus on the neo-Nazi issue is being undermined by playing down the issue and by ignorance, but also through the most evil defamation. It is quite obvious who will ultimately profit from this. As we all know, arguments that depict the fascist danger as a specter "that does not really exist in this form, as we will soon see," are by no means new!

Attempts to acquire a strong profile, no matter by what party, by slandering the political opponent always lead to the question what confidence this party places in the attractiveness of its election platform, its program... .

Nazi War Criminal's Sentence Reduced

LD0801211290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1835 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 5th Senate of Criminal Appeals of the GDR Supreme Court, in an appeal proceeding, sentenced the former deputy senior guard of the fascist Works Security Service, Jakob Holz, to a prison term of 15 years, and stripped him of his civil rights for a period of 10 years. The main hearing took place on 5 and 8 January.

In the appeal proceedings, the accusation of guilt from the judgment of the Rostock Area (bezirk) court on 25 September 1989, which was a life sentence, was not fully upheld. In its decision, the Senate took into account, among other things, the confession of the accused.

The sentence is in accordance with the heavy guilt of the accused for the murder and maltreatment of Jewish workers in Radom (Poland).

SED-PDS Call for Liebknecht, Luxemburg Rally

AU0801155190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6-7 Jan 90 p 9

[Boxed announcement, measuring 14.5 by 8.5 inches, of a rally to be held on 14 January in Berlin in honor of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, including portraits of both]

[Text] SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] Executive Committee and Berlin Area Committee

To all Berliners, all political movements of our city!

Be loyal to Karl and Rosa!

On 14 January 1990 we will commemorate the outstanding leaders of the German social democrats and communists.

For

—democratic socialism;

—the social interests of the working people

—the independence of the GDR as a state;

—individual self-realization and preservation of the natural and cultural heritage of the people.

Against

—neo-fascism and ultra-rightism, nationalism, hostility toward foreigners;

—an economic sellout of the GDR.

We declare our support for Rosa Luxemburg:

"Freedom only for the followers of the government, only for members of a party—no matter how numerous they are—is not freedom. Freedom is always the freedom of those who think differently. Not because of fanticism, of 'justice,' but because everything that is invigorating, beneficial, and purifying in political freedom is dependent on this essence and has no effect if 'freedom' becomes a privilege."

And we say with Karl Liebknecht: In spite of all that!

We will meet for the demonstration at the socialist memorial in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde, at 0900, on Sunday 14 January 1990.

Bishop Lech Warns Against 'National Euphoria'

AU0801131690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30-31 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Bishop Leich Against 'National Euphoria'"]

[Text] Eisenach—The church will continue to maintain its social responsibility in the GDR. This was declared by Werner Leich, bishop of Thuringia, in an interview at the end of the year.

Concerning the unification of the two German states, the bishop, who is also chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, said that unification could not stand at the beginning of a development. In this connection, he rejected a "national euphoria." One must not deal with the issue of a united Germany without guaranteeing the existing borders, the question of the growing together of Europe, and the security of the existing power blocks, Bishop Leich said.

As essential values of the GDR that must be preserved, Werner Leich mentioned human closeness and readiness to help. "Society, which is often guided by the free-market economy, develops increasingly colder ways in which people are treating each other. It will be our task to provide the market economy with a social factor so that human warmth and closeness can be maintained."

Internal Security Safes Sealed in Leipzig

LD0501224390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2151 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—This evening, representatives of Leipzig citizens committees, in the presence of representatives from the State Prosecutor's Office and the People's Police, received information about cooperation between the former Leipzig Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Area Executive and the former Ministry for State Security. At this time, safes in the Department of Internal Security in the former area executive were sealed in the Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] building in Karl-Liebknecht Street.

According to information from Kurt Meyer, the deputy area SED-PDS chairman, during the businesslike talks it was agreed that at the beginning of the week the documents can be looked at by the citizens' committees.

Dissolution of National Security Office Begins

AU0801204990 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 2 Jan 90 p 1

[ADN/DM report: "Target Date: 20 June 1990"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/DM)—In line with the Council of Ministers' decision about the dissolution of the National Security Office, the government representative for this task, lawyer Peter Koch, started work on 18 December. As Peter Koch, who had previously been head of the State Notaries Department in the Justice Ministry, told the press, the government has appointed further experts in a working committee.

The dissolution of the office is to be concluded by 20 June 1990. First, the working committee has to get an overview of the existing technical equipment, buildings, real estate, and instruments. Concerning Berlin, the first stipulations have been made for the civilian use of structures and facilities: Free places in hostels were given to the City Administration to be used in the health sector. The buildings of the former district offices of Treptow, Weissensee, Mitte, and Pankow are available to the local state organs. Work rooms in Tschaikowski-strasse in Pankow were made available by the local organs for newly formed political groups and parties.

It has been agreed with the minister of construction and housing management that as of 1 January 1990 the building facilities of the former National Security Office will be used completely within his sphere of responsibility.

Peter Koch's office can be reached by telephone on work days under Berlin 2 18 39 53.

5.2 Million Cross FRG Border 30-31 Dec

AU0901060890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "A Total of 5.2 Million Crossed the Border"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—Normal traffic prevailed at the border crossings with the FRG and Berlin (West), respectively, on the last 2 days of 1989. Conditions were normal at the crossings; there were no long lines and no long waiting times at the border. According to the GDR Border Troop unit, over 5.2 million travelers were registered at the crossing points on 30 and 31 December 1989, with over 3.7 million at the Berlin crossings alone. [passage omitted]

Soviet Air Force Still in Debrecen

LD0801233590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] One of the controversial questions of the Hungarian-Soviet military relationship is the affair of the Soviet planes flying around the town of Debrecen. Karoly Toth reports on today's developments.

[Toth] [loud noise of aircraft flying in the background] The withdrawal of the Air Force regiment from Debrecen has meant the reduction of armaments and not the fulfillment of the population's demand, namely, ending the military and Soviet character of the airport. This was stated by representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. They continue to demand that the National Assembly's October decision be executed.

The Soviet side has questioned the previous data and surveys on noise level and damages and it now wishes to carry out further private measurements. However, in the end it was only Hungarian experts who did the measuring. They not infrequently registered noise levels of about 110 decibels. Since the Soviet planes took off and landed in an unusual manner, the flights were stopped.

The parties sat down to negotiate in the early evening hours, but there is as yet no information about these talks. The affair, by the way, has spread beyond the borders of Eastern Europe with the help of the television crew of the Japanese ASAHI TV channel. A large number of the people in Tokyo are demanding, in a similar way, the closure of an American military airport.

Nemeth Orders Trade Minister's Account of Goods

LD0801232990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth has ordered Trade Minister Tamas Beck to give an account of the supply of goods prior to the price hikes. This has been announced by the Secretariat of the Prime Minister's Office. The order was given in relation to the fact that in the past few days supply shortages of several products were observed.

People's Army Under Investigation

LD0301220190 Budapest MTI in English 2057 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 3 (MTI)—Investigations conducted by the parliament's Defence Committee continue, concerning the assumed abuse of power in the Hungarian People's Army. The misuse was brought to light in the controversial book 'Lords in Uniform' (Kiskiralyok Munderban) by former Colonel Imre Bokor. On Wednesday [3 January], the committee heard Mihaly Korom and Bela Biszku, secretaries of the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee which previously exercised political control over the Army.

According to Mr Korom, who filled the post from Autumn 1963-1966 and from 1978-1985, the party was in a position to exercise control over the Army because the HSWP was declared by Constitution the leading force in society, as a consequence. The chief commander of the Hungarian People's Army at the time was the first secretary of the HSWP, Janos Kadar.

Mr Korom also reported that at the time he did not consider the grand style of entertaining, hunting and illegal house building by former Minister of Defence Lajos Czinege, a criminal offence but merely a "mistake". According to Korom, Czinege "was warned every year" that he was making a "silly mistake". But the minister of defence always managed to "give an explanation" and continued his practices. "The affairs of Czinege were almost negligible compared to his merits in the development of the Army, and the question of relieving him of the post was never raised, Mr Korom continued, adding that he considers himself responsible for not taking action against someone occupying a leading position for 25 years.

Bela Biszku, who was secretary of the Central Committee (CC) 1962-1978, reported that Ferenc Karpati (present minister of defence) had personally requested a transfer from Mr Biszku in 1969, largely because of the illegal house building by Lajos Czinege. On this occasion the secretariate of the CC issued a warning to Czinege.

On the Czechoslovak intervention, Mr Biszku replied that the related command was "most certainly" given to the Hungarian minister of defence by the chief commander of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

Interior Ministry Telephone Tapping Investigated

Government Responds to 'Scandal'

LD0501221590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The Hungarian Watergate scandal has erupted. [passage omitted]

Miklos Nemeth is to hold an exclusive consultation this afternoon at 1700 with the government's participation.

[Second Presenter] At the beginning of our program we received a communique from the prime minister's Secretariat.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers dissociates himself from every unlawful act, thus from the methods which could be found in the state security operations earlier. The government committed itself to liquidate the old, antidemocratic methods of government management and it has already made considerable achievements in this field.

This is what guided the Council of Ministers when, on 19 November of last year, it amended the task of the interior minister's scope of authority. The Council of Ministers had decided months ago, and it has also announced this in the National Assembly that it wishes to regulate the questions in connection with state security in a law. The bill is going to be completed soon and can be submitted to the National Assembly.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers asked the chief prosecutor to conduct the investigation out of turn regarding the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] and FIDESZ [Alliance of Young Democratics] impeachment sent to the Metropolitan Chief Prosecutor's Office. The Hungarian public is going to be informed about the investigation's result after its completion.

The metropolitan chief prosecutor forwarded the impeachment of SZDSZ and FIDESZ to the military chief prosecutor because that belongs to his sphere of competence. According to MTI, the military chief prosecutor asked for supplementary material because the evidence sent to him is incomplete. He also said at the same time that the interior minister has to give an answer within 15 days. Hopefully, the reply will be given as soon as possible and following this, the military chief prosecutor will decide whether to order or deny the investigation of the affair.

Ferenc Koeszeg, executive of SZDSZ, in connection with this has said that the evidence is fully at their disposal, but they are not going to part with it in order to protect the informers.

Ministry Spokesman on Allegations

LD0501222590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] [Presenter] From 1700 in the afternoon until not long before our broadcast, the Council of Ministers conferred on the matter [of FIDESZ and SZDSZ allegations], and a similar discussion was held by the leaders of the Interior Ministry. However, an Interior Ministry spokesman was willing to reply to the questions from Hungarian radio. He was questioned by Attila Miklos Nemeth:

[Begin recording] [Nemeth] Do the photocopies which were shown on television and at the press briefing not serve as unequivocal evidence that the relevant department of the Interior Ministry is carrying out phone-tapping and observations?

[Interior Ministry spokesman] It is possible to allege something about anyone, and it is possible to show photocopies. I do not want to cast suspicion of any kind of alteration, distortion, or falsification on anyone. But as long as it is not proved that these allegations against a person or an organization really have grounds, things ought not be treated as if they were facts. There will be legal qualifications in this matter, but I would very much like to leave this to the prosecutor's office.

[Nemeth] I shall ask the question in another way: Does (Marsi-tomaj), Interior Ministry spokesman, deny that the appropriate departments of the Interior Ministry might be carrying out observations, phone-tappings?

[Interior Minister spokesman] The issue at hand is the sections of the Interior Ministry which deal with this, with its service branches, in concrete terms, the state security service. In accordance with their own legal authorization, the decrees, they—in this case expressly the state security service—carry out activity which in every part of the world falls into the category of secret service work. And in this, they also deal with the mentioned activities.

The question of how, and for what, these activities are used is another thing. My conviction is that here, in the terms of transformation, this service as well is trying to act in a neutral manner toward the parties. Illegalities can have no part in state and government work which is undergoing renewal.

[Nemeth] At this moment, the investigation of this affair is in the hands of the Military Prosecutor's Office.

[Interior Ministry spokesman] That is so.

[Nemeth] Can the Military Prosecutor's Office look into any document, into any section of the Interior Ministry?

[Interior Ministry spokesman] The organs of the Interior Ministry will hand over all the information which the Military Prosecutor's Office requires. This, at the same time, does not mean that in given cases we, or the prosecutor's office, might air information pertaining to secret service work, in front of the wider public. [end recording]

Documents Sequestration Ordered

LD0701185190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] The minister of the interior has ordered the immediate sequestration of the documents of the internal security service department accused by the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats of violating the law. Interior Minister Istvan Horvath simultaneously has obligated Major General Jozsef Horvath, group leader of the internal security service, to make a statement of vindication. The head of the Interior Ministry has appointed a committee to explore the matter and to reply to the questions raised by the prosecutor's office.

Istvan Horvath has proposed to the acting speaker of the National Assembly that he should be able to report on the investigation's progress at the next session. The minister also has proposed that the government should submit to parliament as soon as possible the draft law on national security which the Ministry of the Interior has already prepared.

Interior Minister on Charges

LD0701211890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Interview with Interior Minister Istvan Horvath by unidentified correspondent from "The Week" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] I don't suppose you will be surprised by my first question. Are you going to resign?

[Horvath] Not now. [chuckles] My opinion about this is as follows: The people have the right to elect deputies and a National Assembly; the deputies and the National Assembly have the right to elect a government. This has occurred. There is a government. I am a minister. It is another issue, at the same time, that this mandate is approaching its end.

[Correspondent] Can your prestige as a minister, for example, survive the loss which it has suffered with this Hungarian Watergate?

[Horvath] First of all, what the truth is must be clarified. It must be uncovered.

[Correspondent] And do you have any idea what the truth is?

[Horvath] Well, naturally, I cannot say that I have no ideas, but this affair now has many points which are not known to me either.

[Correspondent] How much truth is there in all that the viewers could see on television, in other words, those documents which were made public, reported, through us...these...

[Horvath, interrupting] With every certainty these documents were drawn up in the Interior Ministry. I think there is no doubt about this. It cannot be disputed that this period of transition from one system to another is occurring with a very sharp political struggle, and that is why my being interior minister has now come into question.

[Correspondent] But can the tool which you all have employed—forgive me for interrupting you—be a tool of this political struggle? After all, you personally told me—3-4 months ago, or sometime around the middle of summer—that the Interior Ministry does not carry out investigations vis-a-vis the leaders of political organizations or people who at one time were considered oppositionists, with any kind of secret tools.

[Horvath] That is so. And, incidentally, when I said this to you, I spoke the truth, and I confirm this on this occasion, too, as a matter of fact.

[Correspondent] Then what is this, what are these things?

[Horvath] It appears...look, also in the Interior Ministry fairly big changes have already taken place so that the state security apparatus there, which throughout the entire previous historical period was a security service operating under the direction, the immediate direction, of a single political party... [sentence as heard]

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct]

[Horvath] It appears...look, we have already carried out a fairly big spring cleaning in the past year-and-a-half, 2 years, and particularly in the past months, in the interest of abolishing these traditions, these customs, these methods. But it appears that this job of cleaning has so far been imperfect and incomplete. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The original question is did these things take place without your knowledge, these things whose real nature we still do not know?

[Horvath] These are the kind of reports which, according to our internal order, do not even have to get into my hands, nor did they, nor have I seen them.

[Correspondent] What I want to know about is this, this kind of surveillance, the kind of activity that you do not have to know about?

[Horvath] I can answer decisively, that it goes without saying, yes, I do not have to know about it.

[Correspondent] Then, are you going to call to account those who are involved in this?

[Horvath] Please, I have already taken steps, and I have set up a committee, which will be formed also with the participation of non-service persons, whose task it will be to assess this factually, objectively, and precisely and to uncover it, even before the investigation by the supreme state prosecutor.

[Correspondent] If all this is the way they say—my opinion still relates to this—in that case things have been happening here behind your back with which, I take it, you cannot agree, according to what you have said.

[Horvath] No. And (?let me) reaffirm this here, once again, that if an illegality has occurred here, an unlawful act, in the Interior Ministry's State Security Service, then it goes without saying that I condemn it. I have to say that if that is what has happened, then these things are to be condemned. And those who have envinced such conduct in this matter, they have to be condemned for this. But here, before the investigation and the discovery of the truth in the affair, I cannot now pronounce the decision as to whom I will dismiss, who will no longer be allowed to work there.

Investigation of Ministry Staff Ordered

LD0801200190 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 8 (MTI)—The Chief Military Prosecutor's Office ordered an investigation on Monday [8 January] against unknown persons on the Interior Ministry staf on the well-founded suspicion of abuse of

power. Enclosed to the report was only an incomplete, photocopied "daily report" with its right upper corner and space reserved for signature cut out.

As the authenticity of the incomplete document could not be ascertained, the chief military prosecutor requested the minister of the interior to give information about the "daily report" and make further data available.

On the basis of hitherto investigations, the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office has established that the enclosed document was prepared at the Interior Ministry. Simultaneously by ordering the investigation, the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office seized the relating documents at the Internal Security Department of the Minstry of the Interior.

SZDSZ, FIDESZ Express Views

LD0801200890 Budapest MTI in English 1826 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 8 (MTI)—On Monday [8 January], two representatives of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) gave their comments to MTI on the measures taken in the wake of the Hungarian Watergate scandal.

Janos Kis, AFD executive, said that after the authenticity of the documents on which the complaint was based was recognized by a competent official of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office, giving ground for the well-founded suspicion of the continuous commission of a crime, he could not understand why Department Chief Jozsef Horvath and Deputy Interior Minister Ferenc Pallagi, who was in charge of the State Security Service, were not suspended. Mr Kis holds it indispensable to give an account on the whole activity of the political police, not only about the current violations of law. In reaction to the interior minister's statement that FIDESZ and AFD launched the action to win a battle yet before the elections, Mr Kis said that the two organizations did not make accusations but produced evidence so it would be more correct for the minister to deal with these documents.

Gabor Fodor, member of the FIDESZ board, said: Although only three days have passed since the scandal broke out, the measures taken are unsatisfactory. On the one hand, it is not yet known with complete certainty by whom the documents were blocked. On the other hand, the personal consequences have not been drawn. The fact that the minister ordered the chief of the Internal Security Department to prepare a report reflects that the Ministry of the Interior was not fully aware of the crisis of confidence caused by the Hungarian 'Watergate scandal'. In a letter addressed to the prime minister, FIDESZ and SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] demanded to immediately suspend the chief of the Internal Security Department and the deputy minister in charge of the field, and initiated the resignation of the interior minister. Mr Fodor stressed that the minister should draw the consequence no matter whether he had knowledge about the collection of information.

Court To Examine Ministry Procedures

LD0801201190 Budapest MTI in English 1831 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 8 (MTI)—In its Monday [8 January] session, the Constitutional Court decided that, in view of the complaint filed by SZDSZ and FIDESZ against the Security Service of the Ministry of the Interior, it would examine the ministry's internal instructions related to the secret collection of information, data recording and phone tapping from the point of view of constitutionality. The deputy president of the Constitutional Court asked the Ministry of the Interior to provide the court with all instructions of that kind.

The court will decide on the necessity of further measures on the basis of preliminary investigation.

Security Service Committee Meets

LD0801172890 Budapest MTI in English 1615 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 8 (MTI)—The special committee appointed by Interior Minister Istvan Horvath to look into the affair of the Internal Security Service—accused by the Federation of Young Democrats and the Alliance of Free Democrats of breaches of law—held its first session today, Tomaj Barsi, spokesman for the Ministry of the Interior, told MTI.

The committee, chaired by Police Brigadier General Istvan Diczig, head of the Interior Ministry's Investigation Department, set itself the tasks of fact finding, data recording, and ensuring all conditions for prosecutorial investigation. On the basis of the findings, they are to draw up conclusions and proposals on how to transform the State Security Service.

The government decided last December that a national security office would have to be set up on March 1 this year to carry out state security tasks during the reorganization of the Interior Ministry.

The spokesman finally stressed the importance of finding out how the leak in secret service work came about.

Security Chief on Surveillance

LD0601215690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Interview with Deputy Interior Minister Ferenc Pallagi, head of state security, by reporter Zoltan Farkas on the "168 Hours" program; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Farkas] [Passage omitted] On whose authority do you investigate the opposition parties' activities? Because one has the feeling that, if you investigate on the government's behalf, then the situation is really bad

since the government is that of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], that is, the government of a rival party. However, if you do not investigate on behalf of the government, then the state of affairs is even worse, because that means that you work behind the the government's back.

[Pallagi] Esteemed Mr Farkas, I was very glad and correct to accept the invitation to take part in this radio program. The Hungarian State Security Service, which is now the State Security Service of the Hungarian Republic, carries out its tasks not on the authority of parties, not for party interests, but exclusively on a neutral basis, within a neutral framework.

[Farkas] Excuse me, you have already said this in earlier statements. Nevertheless, here are these documents obtained by police and internal counterintelligence and internal security service that watched what sort of interna l arguments were taking place among the opposition parties, who was being put forward as candidates in certain electoral districts and when, and so on. [passage omitted]

[Pallagi] The government gives us the task of ensuring the security of the state and the nation in the category that applies to us, within the framework of secret service activity. I also must tell you that attacks are made against our country, external attacks and occasionally internal attacks, too, since there were ultra left-wing provocations during this period, which we had to investigate and eliminate by every means.

It is our basic interest that there be open and legal regulation of the service as soon as possible, that a guaranteed system exist on the part of the National Assembly with a supervisory committee and, regarding this, we are completely on the same platform with political parties in the trilateral roundtable talks.

[Farkas] Despite all this, these internal regulations still do not exist and, toward the end of our conversation, I still do not know who can order you to visit certain events and in which capacity.

[Pallagi] Mr Farkas, I can state specifically the following to this: to a certain political event, let it be a political mass rally...

[Farkas, interrupting] Let it rather be an event where a leadership of seven members is in conference.

[Pallagi] We did not mobilize ourselves for the conference of the leadership of seven members. We pay attention to events. We are responsible for the lives of 10 million Hungarians and nothing should disturb this in any way. We do not wish to participate in political struggles.

And, forgive me, but I feel somewhat as if these moments might sweep us into the political struggle. We are not the Securitate. The Securitate was our enemy. What worries me in this matter is that it could start some disturbance of trust which will have unforeseeable consequences for society.

Nyiri on Phone Tapping

LD0801165590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Interview with Deputy Chief Prosecutor Sandor Nyiri by correspondent Katalin Rangos on 6 January on "The Week" program; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Rangos] What is the stand of the Chief Prosecutor's Office, in connection with our little Watergate affair?

[Nyiri] Before we begin the conversation, I would like to say that since ancient times all the world's police forces have conducted secret activities. Only, in the European legal states, this kind of police activity is legally regulated.

I could sum up the opinion of the Chief Prosecutor's Office as follows: There was a scientific meeting in our country in November of 1988, where we raised the matter that this kind of police activity, their activity concerning secret data-collection, ought to be regulated through open laws. In the autumn of last year, the chief prosecutor proposed to the minister of the interior and the minister of justice that such a law be prepared and drafted.

The legal approach to this is that the basic rights guaranteed in the Constitution can be limited only through laws. I emphasize "only through laws," because if it is written in the law what the cases are in which the police can carry out data-collection, and if this is proclaimed in MAGYAR KOEZLOENY [Hungarian Gazette], the citizen will know that if he conducts this kind of activity, he might find himself facing this, but he also knows that if he does not carry out this kind of activity, he cannot encounter such activity by the police.

[Rangos] Here, in this case, the issue at hand was that policemen conducted various secret investigations against political parties and people active in the parties. I imagine that the kind of activity which was conducted by these people, or these parties, would be qualified as completely proper and normal. In this case, the police have no right to watch them. So, the suspicion of criminal action cannot emerge here.

[Nyiri] We agree, verbatim. According to our current information, the facts we are acquainted with, this kind of activity is really unlawful. According to the Constitution and the Constitutional laws, it is permitted, possible, to engage in politics in Hungary, the parties function legally, and it is prohibited to collect secret information on the parties' activity, on the parties' political activity. If police activity of this type is regulated, my conviction is that this cannot be included in the law, because if it were included, it immediately would be unconstitutional.

[Rangos] Put in straightforward terms, secret surveillance activity by the police is justified only in the event of suspicion of a crime, regardless of the fact that there is not yet a completed legal regulation for this, isn't that so?

[Nyiri] That is so.

[Rangos] In that sense, if what we heard at yesterday's press briefing by FIDESZ and SZDSZ turns out to be true, that the police acted in a manner we believe they acted, then it is the police who committed a legal violation, a violation of the Constitution, a violation of clauses contained in the Civil Code.

[Nyiri] Not the institution, but the employees of the institution who did this. At any event, it is necessary to pay attention to one thing: It is easy to suppose that there still are old instructions in force within the police. However, an instruction is not a right. An instruction is an internal thing, it does not exist for the citizen, it is not declared. If an official acts according to the internal regulations of his organization, the judgement of his lack of discipline for this viewpoint may perhaps be qualified in a different manner.

[Rangos] So inwardly, he on the one hand is qualified as an employee who acted properly, while on the other hand he acted unconstitutionally—this, the resolution of this problem, perhaps could fall under the Constitutional Court's jurisdiction, is that not so.

[Nyiri] In part, but in that case it, in any event, is necessary to separate legal and political responsibility. Political responsibility can burden the high-ranking leaders who did not take measures at the proper time to make these instructions invalid.

[Rangos] In that case, what is the task of the chief prosecutor's officer, for example, and what is the schedule of what you now plan to do?

[Nyiri] The Chief Prosecutor's Office will: First, continue the investigation, on the basis of the complaint. Second, we shall urge the realization of our initiative of autumn, last year, because it is not possible to live in a constitutional state where the citizens are not aware of their rights and of the legal restrictions on their basic rights.

Trade Union Leader Warns Nemeth of Price Hikes

LD0501222190 Budapest MTI in English 2128 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 5 (MTI)—Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) sent an open letter to Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth on Friday, on the price rises due to take effect on Monday.

In the letter, Mr Nagy warns of the ever increasing danger that the country will be ruled by a small elite which has both the political and economic power, with an interest in discrediting the organizations speaking up for the several million people who have no knowledge of economic questions.

The SZOT general secretary gives data which pose almost insurmountable difficulties for hundreds of thousands of people to make a living. He calls on the head of the government to join in the effort to 'think and act in unison so the social tensions threatening to erupt would be relieved, and the fragile social peace preserved before it is too late.'

Food, Other Costs Show Big Increases

LD0801140690 Budapest MTI in English 1250 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 8, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—In anticipation of the today's drastic price rises, Hungarians stocked up last weekend with provisions of food and petrol.

The rises are unavoidable, the government says, in view of increases in producer prices and the need to cut state subsidies.

Preliminary calculations indicate that rises so far announced will boost the consumer price level by 19.5 per cent, almost equalling the government's forecast of 20 per cent inflation for the whole of 1990.

Except for one specific brand of milk and bread, producers will from now on be free to set all food prices, leading already to shop prices of meat and meat products going up by an average 32 per cent, dairy products by almost 43 per cent and bread by 20 per cent.

Cigarettes, beer and spirits are 20-22 per cent more expensive from today, while petrol is up 3.50 forints a litre—one litre of 86-octane petrol now costing 28 forints (45 U.S. cents).

Cars imported from Comecon countries are 25 per cent more expensive from today.

Sewage and water rates, meanwhile, have been raised by a whacking 336 per cent. In Budapest, for example, the former 2 forints per cubic metre sewage and water charge has been raised to 10.10 forints.

The rents of council flats are to be raised by an average 35 per cent from February 1, while postal charges have been raised by an average 22 per cent as from today.

Also from next month, local transport fares will go up by 55 per cent in Budapest, and 45 per cent in other cities while rail and inter-city bus fares will go up by an average 20 per cent.

In order to cushion the effects of all these rises for the less well-off, the social security fund is to spend 33 billion forints ($532 million) on raising family allowance by 300 forints per child per month, and the lowest pension by 1,050 forints.

The trade unions maintain that the rises will push as many as 3 million of the country's 10.6 million inhabitants below the official poverty line, which was fixed on Dec. 31 at 5,000 forints a month.

Labor Brigades Strike at Military Enterprise

LD0801185390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Members of the OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades] have begun strikes in Wroclaw and Opole. The OHP Civil Defense members, who are performing their compulsory military service in the Ministry of National Defense, have been on strike at the military construction enterprise in Wroclaw since this morning. The strikers demand, among other things, the abolition of military rules and regulations, an improvement in living standards, a 300- percent increase in soldiers' pay, an extension of periodic leave to 14 days, and free Saturdays. [passage omitted]

Political Protests in Gdansk, Biaklystok

LD0801231190 Warsaw PAP in English 2228 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 8—Four young residents of Gdansk who have been on a hunger strike for 32 days now appealed to society today to intensify efforts to stop the construction of a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec and introduce a legal ban on operation of such plants in Poland.

To this aim, a street demonstration was staged in the northern port of Gdansk by ecological and opposition groups.

Also in Gdansk, members of the Independent School Youth Union today picketed the Voivodship Court which did not want to register the organization as it voiced objections to its statute envisaging the right to strike.

In another development, a group of students of the Bialystok Branch of Warsaw University—members of the Independent Students' Association [NZS] started a sit-in in the seat of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] voivodship committee in Bialystok, north-eastern Poland, on Monday, demanding the local PUWP building to be given to the university.

Jaruzelski's Future Role in Party Questioned

LD0801231290 Warsaw PAP in English 2109 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 8—Will President Jaruzelski join a new party that will replace the Polish United Workers Party, asked reporters present at today's press conference held after the recent 17th plenary meeting of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee].

In reply, PUWP CC Secretaries Leszek Miller and Slawomir Wiatr voiced the hope that the president would be a guest of the 11th Congress of the PUWP and the inaugural congress of the new party and would make an address to the delegates. Party membership was, of course, a personal matter to be decided on by Wojciech Jaruzelski himself.

Among the more than 1,600 delegates to the congress there are 370 career party officials, while about 10 percent of the delegates declare their ideological ties to the 8th July Movement (Social-Democratic), half of the present members of the party leadership have not been elected delegates.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, it was stated at the conference, has real chances for competing for leadership of the new party. Decisive will be the will of the delegates expressed in a democratic procedure.

Leszek Miller said that the new party will take over all the assets and obligations of the PUWP. It is likely that the new party will seek accession to the Socialist International. It will also seek cooperation with all the progressive forces in Poland, not excluding those members of Solidarity who have left-wing views.

Government Discusses Prices, Pay, Environment

LD0801223190 Warsaw PAP in English 2223 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 8—The Council of Ministers held a meeting here today chaired by Prime Minister Taduesz Mazowiecki.

The council heard a report by the home market minister on the situation on the food market in Poland in the first days of January. Cabinet members paid much attention to considerable and sometimes unfounded price hikes and disturbances in supplies.

The meeting pointed out that some government-presented draft laws would provide a legal basis for removing those barriers which continue to paralyse economic mechanisms.

The Cabinet adopted draft amendments to the law on the protection and modeling of natural environment and the law on waters. The amendments aim at creating a legal basis for fixing real charges for using natural environment and waters and fines for violating environmental protection regulations.

The amendments also include a suggestion to introduce special regulations making it possible for local administration to take more radical actions as regards the protection of the atmosphere and against noise.

[In a report on the Council of Ministers session, Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1830 GMT on 8 January adds: "Another topic of the meeting concerned wages. A resolution has been adopted to increase means for pay in the state sector. Taking into consideration the assumption of the prices and incomes policy for this year and the forecast of an average wage in the sphere of material production in January being Z 678,000, it has been

decided to reduce the resulting disadvantageous differentials in wages in the state sector for the fourth quarter of last year, backdated to 1 December 1989."]

Solidarity Calls for Protests at 3 Mines

LD0801141890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 8 Jan 90

[From the "Magazyn" program]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, we have received additional information from Walbrzych while the "Magazyn" has been on air:

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] A protest, which began as a result of a Solidarity initiative, took place at the Walbrzych, Thorez, and Victoria mines today. The trade unions are protesting chiefly against the government's decision regarding the division and not the elimination of the Lower Silesian Coal Excavation Enterprise. As a result of this decision, the entire enterprise administration is to be placed within inspectorates created with this aim in mind, (or?) within the mining administration. Thus, for example, in order to lower costs, no one has been hired for a year now to do administrative work at the Thorez mine. Efforts are now being made to place a dozen or so people there. The total liquidation of the Coal Excavation Enterprise is being demanded.

Other than this, the postulates also include a demand for the government plenipotentiary and the chairman of the Hard Coal Corporation, whose arrival in Lower Silesia can be awaited no longer, to undertake talks with the protesters.

A third postulate, concerning a somewhat different area, is the issue of the transportation of output. Up to now, mines have paid for the transporting of coal into the country, thus making their financial position more difficult. That is why a protest action has been announced from today to 15 January. [end recording]

Urban Assesses Party Leadership Contest

LD0201180890 Warsaw PAP in English 1709 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 2—Head of the party institution, the National Information Agency Jerzy Urban wrote in the TRYBUNA LUDU PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] daily today about inner struggle for the leadership going on in the Polish United Workers' Party before its 11th Congress due to start on January 27.

According to Urban, Political Bureau member, leader of the PuWP parliamentary floor group Marian Orzechowski initiated the struggle in his interview for the TRYBUNA LUDU on December 27.

Orzechowski launched an attack against PUWP, First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski while subtly advertising himself and Tadeusz Fiszbach. The curtain went up revealing the genuine sense of the pre-congress developments and of the congress proper which may unfortunately become a great personal battle, Urban stated.

The adopted method of discrediting the rival, that is Mieczyslaw Rakowski, is very symptomatic of the present moods in the PUWP, Urban opined.

Rakowski is attacked in the PUWP as the one whose blackmail address at the first part of the 10th central committee plenum caused a breakthrough in the party's policy, adoption of the concept of a parliamentary democracy, pluralism and agreement to the Solidarity legalization opening thus a way to the round table talks, Urban wrote.

Today, following the developments in Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and especially in Romania those accusations of giving away power fade, Urban continues. It is the merit of Jaruzelski and Rakowski that their insight prevented Poland from the Romanian variant.

At the same time Rakowski is attacked as a reformer not radical enough by the freshly formed renewal wing, but not so long ago it was Rakowski as premier who went as far as it was then possible in establishing reformatory accomplished facts, Jerzy Urban wrote.

In my opinion, he went on, Fiszbach's leadership of a new party, PUWP successor, suggested by Orzechowski would have two disadvantages. The first one is the risk of appointing an activist who, in spite of the conditions favourable for him, has not so far revealed leadership capacities and has not gained the status of a politician of all-Poland rank.

The second one, Urban elaborated, is the danger stemming from the fact that Fiszbach was supported by the Solidarity in the Sejm elections and today it advertises him as a PUWP member most convenient and close to the trade union. This threatens with the decay of identity or even independence of the party of the Polish left, Jerzy Urban stated.

Sejm Marshal Delivers New Year's Address

AU0801124490 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jan 90 p 5

[Speech by Sejm Marshal Mikolaj Kozakiewicz at the 29 December Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Text] Esteemed Sejm: We hereby bring 1989 to a conclusion. This has been a year too full of events and consequences for us to be able to provide a full assessment. In this extraordinary year, things happened in Poland which were considered impossible until quite recently. In March and April, we had the "roundtable" talks and the legalization of "Solidarity." In June we had the elections to the Sejm and Senate. In July we had the presidential election. In September we had the appointment of the first noncommunist government in Eastern Europe. However, out of the 460 deputies, only 38 possessed previous Sejm experience. Out of the 100

senators, only 3 possessed this experience. So is it any wonder that we made mistakes? Is it any wonder that, thanks to television, the conduct, clothes, and language of parliamentarians often met with objections and criticism from the electorate, especially during the initial stage? After all, the deputies had to learn their new roles gradually, and had to acquaint themselves with the government and parliament. Even the president, the Sejm and Senate marshals, and the chairmen of all the commissions had to learn their new roles. This learning process is still continuing. But nevertheless, look how much has changed in the Sejm, and, what is more important, how much has changed in Poland! No one knows exactly what the country's final landscape will be like in the not too distant future, but everyone believes it will be nothing like the past. On the other hand, there are many people among us who do not want the entire past to be discarded. That is why we have had so many debates. The legislation which the Sejm has passed today alters the country's socioeconomic system. As a result of it, Poland will be a completely different country. We must realize that. A breakthrough has occurred today, and I do not think we all realize that.

Citizen deputies. The Sejm Presidium and I compelled you to work above your strength. The Sejm even met on Sundays. I am sorry that the Sejm sometimes had to be convened suddenly, only 12 hours after the previous session, and that some commissions, notably the Legislative, Economic Policy, and Budget and Finance Commissions, worked non-stop under an inhuman burden. We knew it was going to be a difficult term of office for the Sejm, but we had no idea it would be so difficult and would demand so much effort from us. The deputies did not have a single day off. During the 6 months of the present 10th Sejm, we have held 17 sessions in this hall, involving a total of 31 working days. That is as much as the previous, ninth Sejm achieved in 2 years. We had to work like that because we had no choice. Even though I received letters of protest from deputies and commissions, they carried out their work nevertheless. For that I would like to thank them very sincerely, because it is only due to such outstanding work that we can conclude this year with the feeling of having fulfilled our duty to our electorate in accordance with its expectations. Of course, such intensive work also affected the workload of the Sejm Chancellery. Therefore, I wish to thank the employees of the Sejm Chancellery, as well as the entire Sejm infrastructure, including the Sejm hotel and restaurant, for their patient and dedicated tolerance of the burdens of their work, caused by the extreme activity of the 10th Sejm.

Esteemed Sejm, 1989 was a significant and important year not just in Poland, but also in many other parts of East Europe. Six months after the "roundtable," the Berlin Wall fell, and a still unfinished chapter of this country's history commenced. Seven moths after our "roundtable" and following a brief period of unrest, Czechoslovakia embarked upon the difficult road to democracy. Finally, Romania has erupted in recent days, forcefully casting off the yoke of a totalitarian system which seemed inviolable and static until very recently. The tragedy of the Romanian people is that, unlike in other countries, this process was so violent and bloody, involving many thousands of victims, the exact number of whom is still not known. We are rendering Romania our support to the best of our abilities, wishing that it may regain full freedom. But all this is not the end. The first breeze of freedom began to blow in Bulgaria in the second half of the year. In this extraordinary year of 1989, the whole of Europe has undergone changes, because Hungary and the USSR embarked on "perestroyka" much earlier. As a result of this process, a new future is taking shape in each country, and in each country this shape is different, according to that country's characteristics. We wish to make it clear that this process began in Poland, 10 years ago, and although some journalists are fond of quoting the sporting expression "who has beaten us and by how much" in their commentaries, it has to be said that right now, Poland is one of the most stable countries in East Europe, thanks to the wisdom of Polish leaders, and the premier's remark about deleting the past "with a thick line" has become the guiding principle for most of the debates in this hall. To a major extent, this is thanks to you, citizen deputies, and the spirit of democracy which you have managed to introduce to this building.

Tomas Masaryk, a president of Czechoslovakia who is now a part of history, provided the most lapidary definition of democracy. He said quite simply that "democracy depends on debate." This debate commences the moment when, after selecting paths of action, people, and not just people, but also governments, parties, and social classes, guide themselves by force of argument in favor of a particular solution, and not by some arbitrary assumptions imposed from above or by whims which could lead to acts of violence. There is no shortage of such debate in the Sejm today. Let us be honest, sometimes there is even too much of it. It accompanied our adoption of the dozen pieces of legislation the day before yesterday, yesterday, and today. This was possible because the overwhelming majority of deputies recognized the principle of reaching agreement on a thorny issue before that issue is discussed at a Sejm session, and because the deputies guided themselves not by party or class interests, but by the supreme welfare of the nation. When I wanted to quote Masaryk in a speech at a meeting of young parliamentarians in September, I was advised not to because I might upset Polish-Czechoslovak relations. That gives an idea of the extent and speed of the changes brought by 1989, and not just in Czechoslovakia.

Deputies! We are only acquainted with the road we have traveled. We know nothing about the road that lies ahead. For example, no one knows how society will react to the legislation we have passed today. But we do know that 1990 is going to be a very difficult year for Poland. In particular, the first half of the year may be critical, and may require a lot of self-denial by society.

We trust that the first positive effects of the changes will be visible in June and July, but there will also be no shortage of difficulties which it will be necessary to overcome. We must emerge victorious from this period of trial, without which there is no way out of the crisis.

On the threshold of the new year, we wish our people psychological resilience, courage, and faith in the activity that is being undertaken to heal the economy.

We wish the president and his colleagues all possible success and good ideas about activity that is in harmony with the current transformations in Poland.

We wish the premier health and strength to overcome the difficulties, and we wish the government courage and wisdom in further activity.

We wish the Senate and its marshal harmonious cooperation, just like so far. We wish them activity for the benefit of the Republic. Wherever differences of opinion occur, may the Senate overcome obstacles without affecting the relations between both institutions.

Finally, what should I wish you, deputies? Most of all, that you should avoid in your work the fear which Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, one of the creators of the idea of pan-Europeanism, described in the following terms: "Parliamentarians are nominated by their parties, and elected by the masses. That is why they are accountable to two superiors from the very beginning—a many-headed superior, in other words the party; and an anonymous superior, in other words the voter. This dual accountability usually deprives them of their sense of security, freedom,and independence. They feel afraid that when the next elections come, they will not be allowed to run in them, or will simply not be elected."

Let us be free of this fear! In our work, let us guide ourselves solely by the good of our country. In addition, I wish everyone health and strength. May you constantly feel that you are fulfilling your duties, because by remaining faithful to your election promises, you are also serving the fatherland and contributing to its rapid emergence from the crisis.

May 1990 end positively and successfully, in other words, like the ancient Romans used to say, quod felix, bonum—faustumque sit [let what is good turn out to be successful].

Mazowiecki Meets Sejm Speaker for Talks

LD0801140390 Warsaw PAP in English
1255 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 8—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met here today with Sejm (lower house of parliament) Speaker Professor Mikolaj Kozakiweicz to discuss the course of legislative work.

Mazowiecki Meets KKW Leaders on Economics

LD1612214289 Warsaw PAP in English
2056 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 16—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki met here today with a delegation of the National Executive Commission (KKW) of the Solidarnosc trade union, headed by KKW Presidium members Jacek Merkel and Stefan Jurczak.

Government representatives briefed the delegation on the goals and direction of the 1990 economic programme and means for its implementation.

Representatives of Solidarnosc approved major assumptions of the governments policy and its basic goal, that is, getting hyperinflation under control. However, they expressed doubts over the methods of application of the stabilization programme. At the same time, they also stressed the slow pace of work on the transformation of ownership relations in the economy.

Union activists forwarded one basic question about the envisaged period of time necessary to achieve stabilization. According to the authors of the programme this will be a period of about six months.

The KKW of the Solidarnosc trade union is to present its opinion on the programme after its members will acquaint themselves in detail with drafts of legal acts presented by the government.

PSL-Rebirth Meets; To Publish 8 Journals

LD0601023690 Warsaw PAP in English
0024 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 5—The main executive committee of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL)-Rebirth debated under the chairmanship of president of this party Kazimierz Olesiak. The debaters discussed Poland's current social, political and economic situation. The main executive committee of the PSL-Rebirth adopted a stand on ensuring Poland's food security against the background of the government economic programme.

In its stand, the main executive committee of the PSL-Rebirth says that the government programme does not take sufficient account of the nations' food needs and stresses that the full opening of Polish economy to the world competition and neglecting food production, as the question fundamental for the existence of the nation, carries the threat of further rise in Poland's indebtedness and making creditors joint owners of the Polish national property.

The PSL-Rebirth will firmly oppose tendencies to underestimate the matters of agriculture and food economy and will give political support to the farmers' trade unions and other economic organizations in the countryside in their striving to ensure proper conditions of development, the stand says.

The main excutive committee of the PSL-Rebirth discussed current situation in the party and the entire peasant movement. The debaters pointed to positive premises for the development of cooperation of all currents of the peasant movement. The determinant of cooperation is Poland's difficult economic situation, the countryside and agriculture included, and its main goal is to prevent the excessive burdening of farmers and the entire rural population with taking national economy out of the crisis.

It was decided that eight titles of the peasant press would be published starting from January 1, 1990 as part of the peasant publishing house.

The main executive committee of the PSL-Rebirth appointed editors-in-chief of these journals: Pawel Popiak—editor-in-chief of ZIELONY SZTANDAR, Jerzy Kania—DZIENNIK LUDOWY, Stanislaw Marat—TYSODNIK KULTARLNY, Zenon Kraska—TIM, Jozef Mozio—TYGODNIK LUDOWY, Andrzej Koziol—WIESCI, Stanislaw Adamcyzk—SCENA and Ryszard Miazek—editor-in-chief of the WIES I PANSTWO theoretical and political quarterly.

Spokesman on Premier's Visits, Ties With Israel

LD0801220790 Warsaw PAP in English
1734 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 8—The fate of the crew and one female passenger of the SS "Boleslaw Krzywousty," together 30 people, which ran aground near the shores of Ethiopia, is now known. A representative of the Front of Eritreas Liberation told the Red Cross section operating in this region that the Polish crew was in the custody of the Front and safe. This news was announced today by vice director of the consular department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Witold Rybczynski during a press conference held by the Foreign Ministry Spokesman Stefan Staniszewski.

During the conference the spokesman announced that a plenipotentiary of the Polish Ministry of transportation and maritime economy has been sent to the region to conduct talks aimed at finding out where the Poles are being held and bringing them back as soon as possible.

Staniszewski announced a timetable of Premier Mazowiecki's upcoming foreign visits. On January 8 the premier leaves for Sofia to attend a CMEA summit meeting. On January 30 he is to pay an official visit to Council of Europe in Strasbourg and between January 31-February 2 he is to visit Belgium and hold talks with the Common Market there. Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu will visit Poland January 14-15.

Asked why Poland abstained from voting in the U.N. General Assembly on Panama, Staniszewski said:

"Poland neither supported nor opposed the stance adopted by Cuba and Nicaragua when these states tabled the draft resolution on Panama. The draft was voted in with 75 votes for, 20 against and 40 abstentions. Poland was among the states which abstained.

"As was the case at the very beginning of the Panamanian conflict and in every other case of one state using armed forces on the territory of another state, Poland thinks that all use of armed force in a dispute or international situation is admissible only when it complies with international law, particularly the U.N. Charter. We announced this before the voting at the U.N. and we proceed and will proceed from this stand.

"At the same time we expressed a hope—the Ministry of Foreign Affairs once again refers to its four-point statement of December 22, 1989—that the development of the situation in Panama will be in line with the will of the Panamanian nation. The present government of Panama headed by President Guillermo Endara was set up in the wake of elections. The result of these elections had been annulled by Gen. Noriega. In this situation, all our doubts about the Panamanian conflict taken into account, Poland would find it difficult to vote in favour of the resolution, the more so that Panama and its legal government themselves rejected the resolution (Panama voted against the resolution).

"The big split in the voting, among non-aligned states inclusive, goes to show that we were by no means alone in our doubts."

The spokesman announced that Poland would reestablish diplomatic relations with Israel at the end of this February.

Asked about Poland's stance toward Helmut Kohl's 10-point plan of German unification, the spokesman referred to the Sejm address of Poland's foreign affairs minister of December 7 and the statement (a day earlier) of the spokesman of Poland's president. He added that Poland's approach to this plan converged with the mainstream of the reactions of CSCE-member states. We take particular note of the increase in the realism of West German Government circles on this matter, Staniszewski said. The issue of the irreversibility of Poland's western border is important not only for Poland but all of Europe in line with the motto: "The problem of borders is a problem of peace." It must make one think. He added, that on the one hand Bonn comes out in favour of a unification program but on the other leaves open the issue of borders.

Commenting on the resolution of the 2nd Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR of December 24, 1989 on the political and legal assessment of the Soviet-German Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of August 1939, Staniszewski stressed that the Polish side welcomes the fact that the secret protocol to this document was condemned and annulled. The protocol delineated the German and Soviet "sphere of interests" in Poland and other states. He added that Poland deems the whole pact invalid in light of international law.

Staniszewski confirmed Poland's support for the program of the Romanian National Salvation Front. He recalled Poland's intensive humanitarian aid for Romania, adding that in the last period of Ceausescu's regime, all fields of bilateral cooperation noted a clear drop. He expressed a hope that both states would significantly boost relations.

Poland is keen on significantly tightening cooperation with Czechoslovakia, stated the spokesman in reply to question on the possibility of a federation between both states. In his view, the topic will surface during talks which Czechoslovakia's new Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier will hold in Warsaw. His visit is to begin on January 10.

Asked about the noticeable evolution within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, Staniszewski recalled that Mazowiecki's government favours limiting the role of the treaty to a strictly defensive character, without entering the sphere of the internal political and economic system of its members. Quoting an increase of the atmosphere of confidence in Europe, the spokesman stated that Poland wants the Warsaw Treaty to play the role of an external guarantor of the signatories but at the same time to be used for the development of the process of disarmament and rapprochement in Europe.

Commenting on the Vienna negotiations of "23" and "35" states, the spokesman stated that Poland was interested in a speedy agreement in negotiations between Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries on conventional forces in Europe.

In a statement summing up last year in Polish foreign policy, the spokesman recalled top-level state visits and the results of political dialogue in which Poland participated. The big activity of Polish foreign policy was accompanied by foreign trips of Poles on a scale not recorded before (about 9 million people). This year Polish diplomacy will focus efforts on serving reforms in the country and securing effective financial endorsement for them from abroad, Staniszewski said, adding:

This will be the primary component of our policy towards the West. In relations with the USSR and countries of Central-Eastern Europe, which are the most important for us, we will strive to boost the principles of sovereignty and equal rights, respect of interests and agreements, the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA inclusive.

The spokesman stated that as goes for relations with developing countries, Poland will promote the development of mutually advantageous economic relations, expand to-date political contacts and open new ones, including ASEAN and Arab countries.

Michnik Poses 'Questions for Gorbachev'

AU0801203390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 2 Jan 90 p 1

[Adam Michnik commentary: "Questions for Gorbachev"]

[Text] It would appear that the policy of "perestroyka," that is, the reform of a totalitarian system from above, has reached its limit.

Viewed from the angle of the Stalin-Brezhnev nomenklatura, the outcome of the policy is appalling. Let's just recall the condemnation of the policies of previous ruling teams and the all-out criticism of the political and economic system.

Viewed from the Polish perspective, the changes are unequivocally positive: openness and pluralism; the calls for the restoration of the market; the break with the Brezhnev doctrine; and the new assessments of the military interventions in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan. We could go on to add the de facto recognition of a political opposition in Russia and the national republics and consent to the destruction of the system in central Europe.

The hard-core element in the apparatus will do everything in its power to reverse the process—that is the one thing that can be said without fear of being wrong. The apparatus will step up its attacks on Gorbachev's policies, employing the arsenal of classical Stalinist rhetoric—the defense of socialist principles, the defense of the leading role of the CPSU (Article 6 of the Constitution). It will resort to egalitarian-populist phraseology and ultimately to the ideology of great Russian nationalism, bolstered by orthodox rhetoric and virulent criticism of the market economy—that is the three-pronged formula for the camp of Russian defenders of the totalitarian order.

The tendencies that threaten to destabilize the system are: the national revival movements in the republics; the renaissance of the democratic Russian intelligentsia; the first elements of independent workers organizations; and the broad trend toward establishing unofficial organizations. All this diverse, multifarious movement toward democratic change has so far been supported by Gorbachev and his policy of "perestroyka." The cracks have now appeared, and they may turn into open conflict.

In the opinion of people who belong to the democratic wing, the policy of directing reform from above has exhausted its capacity to develop further. The time for an open conflict with the conservative nomenklatura is fast approaching. What dangers would Russia face if the reform camp were to be defeated?

The changes that have been instituted thus far can no longer be rescinded by a Central Committee resolution. However, the failure to proceed with reform rapidly may result in stagnation, apathy, disintegration, and ultimately to a severe intensification of conflict. This will

then lead to the breakdown of structure, chaos, and finally to civil war and a war between various peoples, military dictatorship, an anticommunist revolution, and the collapse of the state.

What position will Gorbachev and those around him occupy in the struggle with a conservative apparatus? What solutions will he propose to the Baltic republics, Transcaucasia, and the central Asian republics? How will relations between Russia and the Ukraine develop? Is it possible to transform a totalitarian empire into a confederation of independent republics, as was proposed by Andrey Sakharov? Will the strike committees spawn independent trade unions? Will there be a compromise with the radical wing of the Russian democratic intelligentsia? Finally, what will come of the changes in the economy? Will Vice Premier Abalkin's reform yield positive results or will the criticism voiced by deputies from the Interregional Group prove to be justified?

A great deal depends on the answers to these questions; they matter a lot for Polish policy. The rate of change is so great that every day sees new dogmas being thrown overboard. Violent shocks, especially those in Romania, show what can happen when there is no clear prospect of institutional change and when there is conservative resistance in the ruling camp.

The crisis point is at hand. That is why we are following so closely the questions faced by the Soviet Union.

U.S. Group Aids Polish Agricultural Sector

AU1912100889 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6 Dec 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Doctor Stefan Szafarek, deputy chairman of the U.S.-based Committee for Aid to Private Farmers in Poland, by Slawomir Godera; date and place not given—"Effective Help"]

[Text] In June 1989, in New Britain (Connecticut, U.S.A.) the Committee for Aid to Private Farmers in Poland was formed. Apart from the direct aid (finance, supply of various means of production, fertilizers, foodstuffs, and pesticides), the committee is engaged in organizing agricultural training visits to the United States for Polish farmers, students of agriculture, and even medical doctors who practice in rural areas. The committee would like to work with Private Farmers' "Solidarity," the Polish episcopate, and Polish emigre community organizations in the United States and Canada.

[Godera] What distinguishes your committee from other Polish emigre organizations of similar character in the United States?

[Szafarek] We are the only such organization in all of the United States that aids private farmers. The mere fact that such an organization has come into being shows that Polish emigres in the United States are not satisfied in passively applauding the changes in Poland, but wish to take an active part in those changes. I believe that the creation of such a lobby here in the United States was a necessity.

[Godera] What sort of aid do you want to give to Polish agriculture?

[Szafarek] This may sound trivial, but we want to give effective aid. I conceive this to be more than just giving Polish farmers access to the latest technology, or channeling into Polish farming the means of production that are presently lacking. We see our role as being much wider. We want to create a focal point for the aid that the United States Government is organizing for Polish agriculture. We also intend to participate in changing the present system of agricultural production. One of the many tasks we are currently performing is organizing the proposed visit of some 100 Polish farmers and students of agriculture to the United States. Many American farmers and universities have shown great interest in this visit. The general program includes working visits (work training on the farm), study grants, and work-study programs.

[Godera] The committee is composed of people who are well versed in the needs of Polish agriculture. Do you think that the United States Government has the same kind of expertise?

[Szafarek] President Bush's administration wants to obtain that sort of expertise. Several weeks ago I was invited to Washington and asked to give my comments on the program for immediate aid intended for Polish agriculture. The other participants in the session were representatives of specialized organization such as Agricultural Cooperative Development International (ACDI), which over the last few years has been engaged in the revitalization of agriculture in the Nile delta. They have achieved very good results there. Our organization was the only organization that represented the Polish emigre community.

[Godera] In a few days you are going to Poland. May one ask what is the aim of your visit?

[Szafarek] During my visit I shall meet members of the government, trade union authorities, and research workers. I have been authorized by our council of directors to make binding agreements with all institutions and persons without any later need for these agreements to be ratified by our council. The visit will coincide—not unintentionally—with the visit of ACDI representatives who will be familiarizing themselves with the current situation in the area of agricultural production and foodstuffs processing, and who will later work out concrete proposals of assistance for Polish agriculture.

Mazowiecki Views New Relations With Romania

*LD0801230490 Warsaw PAP in English
2112 GMT 8 Jan 90*

[Text] Bucharest, Jan. 8—Romanian revolution was a logical and inevitable consequences of the process which swept across whole central Europe in 1989, Romanian weekly "LUMEA" quoted Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki as saying. Mazowiecki made the statement while answering questions addressed by the weekly to the premiers and foreign ministers from the countries signatories to CSCE Final Act.

"All Poles were very moved at what happened in Romania and the massive material and medical help is the most telling sign of the attitudes of our compatriots towards these developments," Mazowiecki said.

The premier expressed conviction that the relations between Poland and Romania would change and, dependent on the changes in the whole central Europe, they will become more intensive both within CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty. He stressed that all the areas of contacts should be freed from ideology.

Greens From Poland, FRG, GDR Meet

*LD0901093590 Warsaw PAP in English
0006 GMT 9 Jan 90*

[Text] Krakow, Jan. 8—A tripartite meeting of representatives of Green Parties from the FRG, GDR and Poland ended in Szklarska Poreba today. Present were observers from the U.S. and Holland, a spokesman for the Polish Green Party has announced.

The participants in the meeting wrote in a final communique that possible reunification of Germany should not weaken the peaceful development of Europe. This question should be discussed by the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe, they suggested.

The Greens of the FRG and GDR came out in favour of legally recognizing, Poland's Western border. The participants in the meeting condemned nationalist and revisionist tendencies in the FRG and GDR, the spokesman said.

Delhi Reports Signing of 1990 Trade Protocol

*BK2412155589 Delhi Domestic Service
in English 1530 GMT 24 Dec 89*

[Text] India and Poland are to have trade turnover of over 795 crore rupees in 1990. This will comprise Indian exports worth 361 crore rupees and imports from Poland to the tune of over 434 crore rupees. A protocol to this effect was signed in Warsaw last night by Mr V.N. Kaul, joint secretary in the Commerce Ministry; and Mr Zawiatowski, deputy director in the Polish Ministry of International Economic Cooperation.

The main items of import from Poland will include sulphur, ferrous and nonferrous metals, chemicals, newsprint, power equipment, and ship engines. The exports to Poland will include tea, pepper, cotton textiles, raw jute and jute goods, finished leather, and a number of engineering items.

EEC Preferences Apply to Country 1 Jan

*LD0301193990 Warsaw PAP in English
1841 GMT 3 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 3—In line with the decisions undertaken by the Council of Ministers of the EEC, Poland was embraced as of January 1 by the Community's general system of preferences.

Speaking on the effects and obligations ensuing from those decisions, Tomasz Jodko, vice-director of the Department for Economic Cooperation at the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation told PAP:

The general system of preferences creates chances to negotiate with importers from EEC states better prices due to the elimination or the reduction of tariffs paid by receivers of Polish goods.

There is no automatic rule as for what advantages will be obtained by Polish exporters. They are closely linked with their initiative during negotiations and with the specific supply-demand conditions in respective EEC member states.

But one can attempt to make an initial estimate. In 1988, Poland's exports to EEC exceeded 3.9 billion dollars. The general system of preferences would have embraced from 40 to 50 percent of the value of that export. In case of industrial goods the average EEC tariff rate amounts to 6 percent.

Military Court Tries, Sentences Militia Major

AU0801171490 Paris AFP in English 1701 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 8 (AFP)—A military court sentenced a major from the militia in the central city of Sibiu to nine years in prison Monday for attempted murder, reliable sources said here.

It was the first trial of so-called terrorists since the December 25 execution of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

Ion Bundea was accused of shooting at five Army officers, wounding one of them.

Romanian news media had mostly remained silent about the trial.

"Other terrorists from this city", the former stronghold of Mr. Ceausescu's hated son Nicu, were to be tried Tuesday, the sources said.

Further Details on Trial

AU0901095090 Paris AFP in English 0218 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 9 (AFP)—A military court sentenced a major from the militia in the central city of Sibiu to nine years in prison Monday for attempted murder, after he broke down in tears of regret, Romanian television reported. Ion Bundea, 49, was accused of shooting at five Army officers, wounding one of them, in the first trial of so-called terrorists since the December 25 execution of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

Mr. Bundea, dressed in civilian clothes, was tried in a small room holding about 20 people, according to the television pictures. He said that he and his colleagues were responsible for maintaining order around the militia's headquarters in Sibiu, and that they were armed with machine-pistols and automatic handguns.

Demonstrators, chanting "Down with Ceausescu", gathered around the building, which contained a weapons-store which the guards were ordered to protect.

"The orders were imprecise", Mr. Bundea said, adding that "we were simply ordered to fire into the air to intimidate the crowd. I loaded my pistol to save myself from being shot at". The prosecuting counsel, a colonel, said the accused was contradicting what he had earlier said to the examining magistrate, and that his true aim, like that of other militiamen, was to use force to enter a building on the other side of the street housing a military telephone exchange. The militia wanted to cut communications between the soldiers and their superiors at the military general staff in Bucharest, the prosecution said.

One witness, a soldier, said that other soldiers and officers of his division saw the militiamen advance with their guns trained on them. "I took cover and I saw a soldier fall, after taking a bullet in the foot", he told the court. Another witness, also a soldier, said that Mr. Bundea had fired in the direction of a group of Army officers.

The prosecution declared that the main aim of the accused was to attack the group of soldiers and not to escape the crowd by joining the soldiers' ranks. This prompted the defence counsel, a civilian, to say that the charge of murder was incorrect and should be changed to attempted murder.

The accused wept as he told the court that as a militiaman with 30 years service, he was sorry for what he had done. "I would never have believed myself capable of doing what I did", adding that he had "never slapped anyone".

The sentence, read out by an unseen judge, was nine years in prison for attempted murder, suspension of civic rights for four years after the trial, the stripping of his rank in the militia and a fine of 600 lei (65 dollars) plus 500 lei (55 dollars) for legal costs. The judge concluded by saying that Mr. Bundea had three days to appeal.

Sources said earlier Monday that "other terrorists" from Sibiu, the former stronghold of Mr. Ceausescu's hated son Nicu, were to be tried Tuesday. Sibiu was the site of bloody fighting between secret police trained by Nicu Ceausescu and Army troops during the nine-day uprising.

"Two to three people" are to be tried in Sibiu by special military courts under emergency procedures, Silviu Brucan, a senior member of the temporary government, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. But Ceausescu's son will not be a defendant during the initial trials, Mr. Brucan said. Council of the National Salvation Front spokesman Aurel Dragos Munteanu said Monday the younger Ceausescu was still under investigation, along with an unidentified number of suspects.

Capital punishment was abolished in Romania and replaced by life imprisonment after the former president and his wife Elena were executed December 25.

Two other "terrorists", militia Captain Liviu Vanga and Lieutenant-Major Aurel Marcu, also went on trial in Sibiu Monday, charged with murder and attempted murder, reliable sources said. But defense attorneys asked for a one-day adjournment to obtain more information on the accused. The court was to hand down a verdict Tuesday, the sources said.

Army Combs Timisoara Region for Securitate

AU0901091790 Paris AFP in English 0836 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Timisoara, Romania, Jan 9 (AFP)—Romanian troops have been combing the Timisoara region to flush out any fugitive members of the Securitate, Nicolae Ceausescu's hated secret police, a local television journalist told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

In the most spectacular operation, infantry units backed up by armoured vehicles and helicopters swooped on a forest at Topolovatu Mare, not far from Timisoara, where the dictator used to go hunting. The search began on Sunday.

Local people had reported suspicious movements in the area, where Ceausescu used to arrive by helicopter on his hunting trips. The Securitate had built installations in the forest to protect the former leader, and it is believed some may still be hiding there. According to the journalist, the Army's suspicions were confirmed when it found a cache of dum-dum bullets, exclusively used by the Securitate, at the home of the head of the agricultural cooperative at Topolovatu Mare, Ioan Josu. Mr. Josu, a former member of the Communist Party Central Committee, used to organise Ceausescu's hunting expeditions.

A few shots were heard near the television station and the hospital on Saturday night. The television and radio station were still being guarded by armoured vehicles and armed soldiers.

While exchanges of fire are becoming rarer, local people are still fear the activities of Securitate, alone and and desperate.

A high-ranking military official said on local television at the weekend that three soldiers had been gunned down by unknown assailants in front of a factory.

Timisoara, where the uprising began which toppled the Ceausescus, was still unable to give a final toll for its dead in the bloody events three weeks ago. One of the problems is that the Securitate disposed of many of the bodies. Another is that witnesses are still too afraid to talk.

NSF Seeks Reinstatement as Most-Favored Nation

AU0901122390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] At a news conference held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the following statement was issued:

The victory of the revolution has created preconditions for launching an extensive democratization process of Romanian society, including the legislation on freedom of movement.

This creates the necessary base for Romania's trade and economic relations with the United States to be founded on the full application of the most-favored-nation [MFN] status in conformity with the treaties concluded by the two sides.

Consequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is empowered to declare the abusive and unilateral declaration of 29 February 1988 of the former regime, which renounced the granting of the most-favored nation status by the United States as null and void.

Romania believes that at this point all conditions are being created in order that the two countries may resume bilateral exchanges on the basis of the most-favored nation status in keeping with the accord between the two countries concluded in 1975, as well as the commitments they have through their participation in the general GATT accord.

Prime Minister Roman Interviewed on Elections

PM0501154690 Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Jan 90 pp 1,4

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Patrice Claude and Georges Marion in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Bucharest—[Interviewer] Will you still be prime minister after next April's elections?

[Roman] Before the revolution, I was doing research work with my colleagues at the Toulouse Institute of Fluid Technology. The work interests me greatly. I am a university lecturer; that also interests me greatly. So, you have my answer.

[Interviewer] How will the National Salvation Front [NSF] candidates for the next elections be chosen?

[Roman] The elections are not a matter for the government, but for the Council of the NSF. Having said that, we are busy drawing up our election platform on the basis of a very broad consensus. All the parties, all the political organizations that want to run under the NSF's banner while maintaining their own name will be welcome. Of course, those who want to stand as independent candidates will be able to do so. This may be strange, but it corresponds to a national consensus, which we do not want to destroy. We are morally obliged to encourage that consensus.

[Interviewer] But will the Council of the NSF, which is above the government, continue to exist after the elections?

[Roman] No. After the elections, we will have a constituent assembly. This is the goal of the election. The constituent assembly will have to examine the draft Constitution that we are drawing up.

[Interviewer] Will the Romanian Communist Party be authorized?

[Roman] It now no longer exists. But, in the future, a Romanian citizen who says he is a Communist will have a perfect right to do so.

[Interviewer] However, it is being said that around 60 members of the Central Committee and the Politburo are in prison....

[Roman] Only some were arrested for specific crimes, and a total of 20 are under house arrest, partly for their own protection.

[Interviewer] A controversy has arisen over the date when the NSF was formed. Did it exist before 22 December?

[Roman] Certainly not in the form in which we knew it on that day. About 15 minutes after the dictator had fled, we entered the Central Committee headquarters where we drafted a declaration which we read to the crowd. It was drafted as a matter of urgency by four or five people who were there with me, General Voina and a television journalist. At that time, there was no talk of a National Salvation Front, but of a People's Unity Front. We went to read that declaration on the television with that title. That is easy to verify. It was at the television station that we met with Ion Iliescu and Silviu Brucan, and it was there, for the first time, that I heard talk of a National Salvation Front. It was then early afternoon. Later, at the Central Committee building, we held further discussions. Iliescu maintained his position and I rallied to it.

How To Overthrow the Regime

[Interviewer] But, on the video shown by French television channel 3, General Militaru is heard to say: "The acronym of the National Salvation Front has existed for 6 months." What does that mean?

[Roman] Several months previously, Militaru and Iliescu had discussed the situation in the country. They thought that prominent people should be brought together for the nation's salvation. But nothing was organized; there were only a few meetings in a park, which were recorded by the Securitate. A few days later, Iliescu and Militaru were summoned and they were shown the recordings. Militaru, who was retired and had no military command, was not very worrisome for the government; but Iliescu had some problems. It is irresponsible to conclude from those informal contacts that the NSF had existed before.

[Interviewer] How did Iliescu and Militaru know each other?

[Roman] I do not know. I was not involved in their meeting at all and I think that they deliberately excluded me. I know Iliescu very well; he was a youth spokesman in 1968, and we also had professional contacts because he was the director of the technical publishing house, which had published some of my books.

[Interviewer] Was Militaru in contact with the Soviets, as has been said?

[Roman] Absolutely nobody had such contacts, not me, Iliescu, or Militaru. I have personally always thought that the regime should be overthrown by our own means. At the time I did not know the efficiency and massive organization of the repressive system. The only person who knew the extent of it was Silviu Brucan who thought that, faced with such an apparatus, no organization was possible. If I had had the same information, I might have formed an alliance with the Soviets, and even with the devil, if it had been necessary.

[Interviewer] Were you thinking about overthrowing the regime?

[Roman] We thought of nothing else. Overthrowing Nicolae Ceausescu went without saying, but we did not know how. We hoped that something would happen. We no longer expected anything from the party, not even the emergence of a reformist wing. The only other hypothesis was an explosion, with the masses taking to the streets. Of course, we were worried because nothing could be organized. Finally, it was not an anarchical movement which broke out but an authentic revolutionary movement; and that is the best thing which could have happened.

"No Question of a Purge"

[Interviewer] Is it now possible to make an initial assessment of these events? How many Securitate members were arrested? How many are still in open rebellion, and what will you do with the thousands who have surrendered?

[Roman] We do not yet have the complete figures for the arrests, but we will have them—and you will have them—in a few days' time. We want to proceed with care and under legal control. There is no longer any question of using the methods of the past, and that takes time. With regard to the last diehards, there are at most several hundred of them. Aside from that, nobody has yet been tried. Separating the criminals from the others also takes time. Moreover, it is possible that we might not succeed in proving the guilt of all those who deserve to be punished. With regard to those who surrendered before our ultimatum, they will have to return to civilian life, aside from a few exceptions. Obviously I am talking about those who wore uniforms (and who were distinguished from the regular troops by a blue epaulette—LE MONDE editor's note). There are several tens of thousands of them, but—would you believe it—we do not yet know exactly how many. The police—the former militia—will also have to take on their traditional role.

[Interviewer] What about the numerous civilians formerly paid by the Securitate to spy on people?

[Roman] Let them reform! Let them work and make people forget them.... There is no question of a purge or of settling scores. We want to take a constructive course.

[Interviewer] With hindsight, do you think that you were right to try the Ceausescus in the conditions in which you did?

[Roman] Yes. We are convinced that it was necessary. From a political viewpoint, it was possibly not the best thing; but from the military viewpoint, it was necessary. We made the decision on the night of Sunday 24 December under the threat of a helicopter attack against the barracks in which they were detained. Our military means there were very limited. We needed at least 24 hours to bring reinforcements to that location. Of course, at that time, they could no longer reverse the course of events. But the possible liberation of that madman could have cost us dearly, perhaps 100,000 dead, who knows?

Moreover, after Ceausescu's execution, many of our enemies surrendered and the resistance of the others was considerably weakened.

[Interviewer] You abolished the death penalty after that. Why?

[Roman] Perhaps the Ceausescus were the only ones who deserved death. In any event, the abolition of capital punishment stems from an ethical and political choice. After all, have not the civilized countries, including France, done the same? Do you not think that forced labor for life can be enough....

The Trade Unions and the Economy

[Interviewer] Will there be changes in the world of work, and in factory management?

[Roman] In the future, enterprise managers will hold dialogues within new structures, which still have to be created with the NSF representatives and with the trade unions. However, for the time being, and I do not know why, the trade unions are not organizing. The people perhaps do not know that they can create them. We are ready to help them, and to give them material aid, provided their organizations are democratically elected.

[Interviewer] Have you definitely chosen a market economy?

[Roman] For the time being that is impossible. We have inherited an economy which was probably the most centralized economy in the world; it is frightening: The first thing that we had to do was free the administration from the constraints of that centralization. We must now move toward decentralization itself, toward a negotiated autonomy status for enterprises. We will try to establish an appropriate relationship between planning and the market. That is realistic. Saying that we will introduce a market economy now would not be consistent with our situation. For the time being, we have not yet discussed decentralization. We are in favor of abolishing the state monopoly on foreign trade but, for the time being, our economy is a planned economy. We cannot ask of the enterprises: What do you wish in future, that would destabilize the whole economy.

[Interviewer] Will you resort to borrowing?

[Roman] Probably. But we have not yet established contact with the IMF or any other such organization. We first want to assess our needs. As you well know, we have been virtually cut off from the rest of the world for at least 10 years. At present, we do not even have the necessary contacts abroad. It is true that we have traditional contacts with the Soviet Union. Our trade has been largely oriented toward that country and it is a fact of which we must take account. The USSR supplies us with vital products and we hope that it will increase its supplies; that will be the main purpose of our upcoming talks with Mr Shevardnadze. We have stopped all our food exports to Moscow and at first we halted all supplies of various products. We will now supply it with what we can and try to restore a trade balance between our two countries.

However, we want to open up on all sides, no longer have just one window, but a broad outlook. We discussed that yesterday with Mr Fabius here and, a few hours earlier, we discussed the subject with Mr Mitterrand by telephone. The president of the republic said something which touched me greatly, namely that the French would henceforth regard Romania as a second home. It is true that we have become a democracy....

[Interviewer] So, now that it is no longer compulsory, do you still regard yourself as a Marxist and a Communist?

[Roman] Oh no, not at all. After the revolution, after what I experienced with the young people, it is no longer possible.

[Interviewer] Does your experience conflict with Marxism?

[Roman] I have not yet thought about an explanation for the reasons behind this movement. Whether or not it is a Marxist analysis is another question. I was a Marxist, not a Communist, because communism as we knew it in Romania was merely Stalinism and Bolshevism. I was a party member, but I was always anti-Stalinist, and anti-Bolshevik, as was my father who fought in Spain. All in all, you see, I am perhaps still a Marxist, but at the moment I do not really have time for philosophy. In any event, we are no longer the slaves of any ideology; that has cost us dearly.

Hamburg DIE WELT Interviews Iliescu

AU0801175390 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 8 Jan 90 p 9

[Interview with Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, by Walter H. Rueb in Bucharest; date not given: "I Call Upon the Germans to Stay Here in Romania"]

[Text] [DIE WELT] Mr. President, has Romania returned to normalcy 2 weeks following the revolution and the overthrow of party-state leader Nicolae Ceausescu? Have the remnants of the ill-famed Securitate forces been liquidated, or are the rumors correct that a counterrevolutionary storm is brewing in Bucharest?

[Iliescu] We can say that we are slowly approaching normalcy. The claim that Securitate on the whole has committed itself in the struggle against the revolution is not correct. Numerous departments of the Interior Ministry and the security forces have fought together with the Army on our side. Only some Securitate special units fought against the revolution. Their number was not very large; however, they were excellently trained and had very good technical equipment.

In addition, they were specially trained for urban fighting, which is not the case with the Army. Therefore,

the Army had difficulty in neutralizing the terrorists. They positioned themselves at various buildings, making the soldiers' task more difficult because the lives of many people were endangered as a result. The adversaries were liquidated; however, we cannot say with absolute certainty that they have been neutralized without exception. Possibly some of them are still hiding, and we are not sure whether the fanatics will start fighting again.

[DIE WELT] Criticism has been voiced in Romania and abroad about the fact that Ceausescu was executed after a trial lasting only 2 hours. Was this done to avoid revelations in a public trial which would have been embarrassing and even dangerous for some of his companions of many years?

[Iliescu] Why were we in a hurry? Because we were forced to act quickly in a state of emergency. Ceausescu left Bucharest by helicopter. He left the helicopter near a military airport and probably intended to flee abroad by plane. He was detected by civilians and the police, arrested, and taken to a nearby military base. That happened about 70 kilometers from Bucharest.

Viewed from a political standpoint, it would of course have been better to arrest the Ceausescu couple and prepare a public trial. However, because of the tense situation and our lack of knowledge about the opposition forces, a military trial was set up and the sentence was carried out immediately.

[DIE WELT] Are there any reliable figures on the dead and wounded and on the material damage less than 2 weeks after the fighting ended?

[Iliescu] We do not yet have any definite figures. According to current estimates, 60,000 people are dead, wounded, or missing. For instance, in Timisoara, more dead bodies have been found now, which were buried at the beginning of the revolution. Many bodies were also burned, and some were thrown into the water. We are afraid that we will find more victims.

[DIE WELT] Owing to the help of the Army, the Romanians have swept away the Ceausescu regime. What do you say to certain speculation about Moscow's influence on Romanian generals who let down the "Conducator" [reference to Nicolae Ceausescu], won the battle, and are now being praised? Does the Army ultimately intend to benefit from the victory alone?

[Iliescu] The question is uncalled for, particularly with regard to Moscow's influence. If you talk about some external influence on events in Romania at all, you should mention the general influence of political developments in East Europe. The events in our neighboring countries have influenced the masses' thinking and combat readiness in our country.

What must also be stressed is the fact that the Army as a whole sided with the people in the fight against the dictator. That means that there was broad national consensus regarding the elimination of Ceausescu. In the end, he was supported neither by the party nor the people.

[DIE WELT] Shortly after Ceausescu was overthrown and the National Salvation Front [NSF] was founded, there were protest demonstrations in Bucharest against the provisional government, which is dominated by Communists. The governments in Poland, Hungary, the GDR, and the CSSR have a broader basis. Are forces other than the Communists to be kept from power in Romania?

[Iliescu] I would say that the political situation here is just the contrary. I do not consider what the international media says, but I orient myself according to the facts. The facts are that, unlike in other socialist countries, the overthrow of the regime originated in the country itself. There was general dissatisfaction with Ceausescu and his leadership. As compared to other countries, the people's dissatisfaction and anger led to a deep crisis in Romanian society—a social, spiritual, and economic crisis. This crisis ended with an outright explosion of the people's anger, and spontaneously brought a movement with a broad basis to power, which advocates the renewal, democratization, and reconstruction of the country. Therefore, I say that, compared to other countries, the basis here is broadest because all political, ideological, and religions groups, with the exception of the fascists, are involved.

[DIE WELT] Reportedly, you met Mikhail Gorbachev when you studied in Moscow. Can we say that he is one of your friends, and is it correct that your acquaintance with Gorbachev possibly saved you from being liquidated by Ceausescu?

[Iliescu] I must disappoint you. I never met Gorbachev, neither during my studies in Moscow nor later. I studied hydrodynamics in Moscow, and Gorbachev studied law. The first time I spoke to him was on the phone following my election as president of the NSF. In that conversation he congratulated me, assured me of his solidarity, and offered support for my country. We agreed to place the relations between our countries on a sounder basis. [DIE WELT] In 1971 you accompanied Ceausescu to China and North Korea. Can we say that in these countries the "Conducator" was infected by a view of the world that made him embark on a road in Romania that became a road to hell for his people?

[Iliescu] I do not want to get involved in such speculation. However, I can say this about Ceausescu: This man had a primitive view of the world, society in general, and socialism in particular. He changed the whole country into a single barracks. It was designed like a pyramid, allowing him to ensure for himself total control of everything. This attitude was by no means attributable to any external influence, from China, for instance.

[DIE WELT] After having broken with Ceausescu in 1971, you were sent off to Timisoara as party secretary, from where the revolt against Ceausescu's regime finally

began. Was this town, which has a high percentage of ethnic Hungarians and Germans, and thus Catholic and Protestant Christians, predestined to rise against the oppressor?

[Iliescu] It is undoubtedly to the credit of the inhabitants of Timisoara to have ignited the flame of the people's revolution. However, the fuse could also have been ignited elsewhere in the country. The people, and in particular the youth, of Bucharest must be given credit for having contributed decisively to eliminating the Ceausescu regime. I cannot tell whether it was the fact that some of the people are Hungarians and Germans that led to the explosion in Timisoara. One thing is certain: Irrespective of their nationalities, all the town's inhabitants started the battle united. The unity of the nation, which also manifested itself outside Timisoara during these days, will be the basis of the friendly coexistence of all groups of the people.

[DIE WELT] Recently, there were demonstrations in the part of Moldavia which was annexed by the Soviets. The demonstrators clearly called for the return of this region to Romania. What will retain the upper hand in your considerations—Romanian patriotism or your interest in good relations with your Soviet neighbor?

[Iliescu] That is a sensitive matter. We cannot approach it superficially, but must deal with it from the position of good-neighborliness with the Soviet Union. What follows from the talks that I have held on this issue is this: New conditions for the people in the Socialist Republic of Moldavia can be created. We intend to start from a common basis and respect the borders that were created following World War II as an element of European political stability. In possible negotiations with Moscow, we will be guided by the principle of good-neighborliness and friendly relations.

We have also decided to take measures in the agricultural sector. They are intended to help increase agricultural productivity. We think that in this area the existing problems can be resolved soonest. On the other hand, the problems in industry are more difficult, because of the complicated structure and the disastrous technical backwardness of enterprises. This backwardness will create difficulties for many years to come.

[DIE WELT] The planned destruction of 6,000 Romanian villages made headlines throughout the world less than 2 years ago. To the people's delight, the new leadership has decided to discontinue the so-called systematization. In what way will the villages, which are partly archaic, be adjusted to the new times?

[Iliescu] The way Ceausescu tried to solve these problems was primitive. Instead of improving, the people's living conditions deteriorated, because the necessary infrastructure was not taken into account. Without modern traffic communications, without sewers, and without an energy supply, the desirable improvement cannot be accomplished. We intend to have a study prepared and to discuss the problem with experts. We consider it important to keep man's bonds with the soil and village culture in mind. The village must remain the basis of traditions and national culture.

[DIE WELT] Ceausescu had yet other ambitious and costly projects, such as the trans-Carpathian highway and the Danube-Black Sea canal. Mr. President, you decided to drop these prestigious projects, which are rejected by the majority of the people, in favor of repairing the damage done during the revolution. The costs of these projects were estimated in the billions [monetary unit not given]. Does the damage caused by the revolution correspond to this sum?

[Iliescu] We have not made any estimates, nor do we have any figures on the extent of the damage. However, it is correct that the damage done is particularly extensive in Bucharest. To repair this damage will take much time and cost much money. Ceausescu's ambitious projects swallowed up huge sums from our national resources—and all without any economic efficiency. No economic studies were prepared before they were implemented. We ordered the construction work stopped and decided to analyze the economic significance of the projects. However, billions have already been wasted.

[DIE WELT] I visited the House of the Republic some days ago. Here, too, you also decided to discontinue construction. Will there now be a gigantic construction skeleton in the center of Bucharest, or will a new decision be made on the future use of the monstrous building?

[Iliescu] Of course the building will not be dismantled. However, we will have to reconsider and decide on its purpose. When construction of the monstrous building began, an extremely large amount of labor and money was made available. Ceausescu wanted to put it into operation as soon as possible. Once a decision has been made on the purpose of the building, the construction work will be continued, however, without haste and without huge sums of money being involved. What is more important for the time being is repairing the damage caused during the revolution, namely housing construction and economic development.

[DIE WELT] When you began your political career you were minister of youth affairs. What road will the new leadership embark on to lead Romania's young people from many years of lethargy to a new beginning? Will this new beginning be marked solely by a hammer and sickle?

[Iliescu] The young people certainly showed no lethargy in the revolution. It is not least owing to their courage and their commitment that we were successful. Under the new conditions, a wide field of renewal will open up to the spirit and initiative of our youth. Self-determination and a spirit of initiative will raise young people from society. We will do everything to support young people. In our society the young people play a particularly active role.

[DIE WELT] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Bucharest very quickly, and FRG Foreign Minister Genscher has also announced his visit. Is Bucharest also expecting visits of government heads from other countries? Will official visits be paid soon? Have you extended invitations? Do you believe that Gorbachev could help improve the reputation of Romania's new leadership by visiting the country or extending an invitation for a visit to Moscow?

[Iliescu] First of all, the president of the French Parliament, Fabius, visited us; then a Bulgarian Government delegation led by the deputy prime minister paid a visit. However, we are still unable to receive foreign heads of state, simply because we are still too busy dealing with domestic policy matters and problems.

Gorbachev invited me to visit Moscow. I will follow the invitation as soon as the most urgent business here has been taken care of. I will probably be able to answer the invitation in the second half of this month.

[DIE WELT] An underground tunnel system crosses Bucharest. So far, no details have been given to the world. You personally learned about its existence only during the days of the revolution. Are you ready to inform the world public on Ceausescu's secret structure under the earth's surface?

[Iliescu] The underground system also included old structures. However, much was built during the Ceausescu era. The tunnels connect several government buildings. We do not yet have a complete survey of these structures. Experts are trying to shed some light on the matter.

For security reasons, free access to the tunnel system is out of the question for the time being. Many terrorists used these tunnels to enter the former seat of the party's Central Committee and get into the rooms where members of the Revolutionary Youth were staying. Many were killed by them.

[DIE WELT] In past years, only sportsmen made favorable headlines for Romania. However, Nadia Comaneci, the world's most famous athlete, escaped recently, and the football players of "Dynamo Bucharest" have been negatively associated with the ill-famed Securitate. Will Nadia Comaneci be invited to come back, and will the "Dynamo" football club be disbanded?

[Iliescu] All Romanians abroad will be cordially welcomed when they return. Another celebrity of Romanian sports, Boris Becker's manager Ion Tiriac, has already contacted us and has offered his services. "Dynamo Bucharest" has a good football team. I personally respect and like this team. You cannot just lump them all together with Securitate. Like Securitate, the team is sponsored by the Interior Ministry. We will certainly find a way to guarantee an independent existence for it, because it would be a pity to lose such a good team.

[DIE WELT] Mr. President, I would like to address a matter in which we Germans have a special interest. Currently, 250,000 Transilvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians live in Romania. Thousands tried to leave your country during the Ceausescu era. What policy will you pursue toward these people. Will the quota of resettlers be increased? Will you in future give up the principle of having Bonn purchase their freedom? And, above all, are you ready to abolish the reasons for resettlement—chicanery, forced assimilation, human rights violations, oppression, and persecution?

[Iliescu] You must know that I have many friends among these people, particularly in Timisoara. I have always been on very good terms with them. We have resolutely begun to eliminate human rights violations, and we also intend to create good conditions in all areas and for the members of all social groups and nationalities. We respect the specific claims of the various nationalities. I hope and I am confident that your compatriots will now no longer wish to resettle, and that some of those who left the country will come back to Romania.

[DIE WELT] The relations between Bucharest and Budapest were strained in the past years. Thousands fled from Romania to the neighboring country, and finally Ceausescu had the border closed. What do you intend to do to reduce the tensions between the two countries?

[Iliescu] We have already held productive talks with the Hungarian foreign minister. The Budapest government has a very positive attitude to events in Romania. It was one of the first to state its solidarity with the revolution in our country. Hungary has also helped us materially. We will eliminate all sources of tension.

[DIE WELT] What do you expect of the FRG? What special help does your country need? Has this already been discussed?

[Iliescu] We have noted with satisfaction the positive position and the statements of friendship by the government and people of the FRG in connection with our revolution. This is the basis of our hope that our relations will develop positively. I am convinced that we will find a platform of good relations. We will do everything to reach this goal. Let me finally express our gratitude to the Germans—as a message of friendship to the government and people of the FRG.

Brucan Interviewed on RCP, Elections

PM0801123490 Paris LIBERATION in French 30-31 Dec 89 p 12

[Interview with Silviu Brucan, member of Council of the National Salvation Front, by Gilles Schiller in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Bucharest—[LIBERATION] The Communist Party seems to have vanished 1 week after Ceausescu's fall?

[Brucan] The specific characteristic of the Romanian revolution is that it was not reformist groups which took action within the party framework or even struggles within the party sparked off by street demonstrations, as

in the GDR or Czechoslovakia. The people's explosion in Bucharest last Friday was not politically led. The National Salvation Front's [NSF] initial core was formed on the balcony of the palace of the republic while addressing the crowd. I knew Ion Iliescu, but I was no longer able to see him. The Romanian Communist Party [RCP] was excluded from the revolutionary process, and we intend to leave it like that. In short, the RCP is finished.

[LIBERATION] What if Communists wish to run for election?

[Brucan] We will help them, as we will help all parties. We need them. An opposition is always necessary.

[LIBERATION] Do you intend to form a party?

[Brucan] No. The NSF will put forward its own candidates.

[LIBERATION] Will all parties be allowed to participate in the elections?

[Brucan] Of course. The more there are, the better it will be. The elections will be the first exercise in democracy in Romania for more than 50 years.

[LIBERATION] What will happen to the Front after the elections?

[Brucan] We do not yet know. It is difficult to imagine. That will depend a great deal on the democratization process in Romania, on its return to the norms of European civilian life. The NSF's leadership are all hostile to the RCP, and also to all parties. We must still find the right formula. I would say that the only ideological element which exists in the Front's composition is its left-wing nature.

[LIBERATION] Will there be further executions?

[Brucan] No. We have decided to abolish the death penalty. There are others among all those who have been arrested who made disastrous decisions, who stole and destroyed things, but that does not justify executions.

[LIBERATION] Will they be tried?

[Brucan] We intend to hold a public trial for the population's education, in as responsible a way as possible and not in a stadium, as in China. Journalists will be in attendance, Romanian and foreign journalists, and it will be shown live on television.

[LIBERATION] Will Ceausescu's children, who have been arrested, also be tried?

[Brucan] All three—Zoia, Valentin, and Nicu—will be tried. If only because they stole millions of dollars.

[LIBERATION] What will your economic priorities be?

[Brucan] We do not think that we should make the same mistake as in the USSR where great plans for industrial modernization were drawn up only to discover, 3 years later, that people had nothing to eat. Our priorities are the following: food, heating, transport, public health, electricity. All these sectors are in ruins. We want people to feel that the revolution can give them something practical immediately.

[LIBERATION] It has only been 1 week since Ceausescu was overthrown. What thoughts does that prompt in you?

[Brucan] I did not imagine that I would see such a day although I was probably the only one to write in the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE of 3 September 1987 that a new political generation would be at the helm throughout East Europe in 1990. That has happened.

Message Issued by NSF's Agricultural Academy

AU0601175890 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Dec 89 p 2

["Incompetence, Contempt Toward the Specialists and Farmers Have Profoundly Harmed Agriculture"—ADEVARUL headline]

[Text] To all agricultural engineers, gardeners, animal breeders, veterinary surgeons, technicians, and agricultural workers.

During the more than 20 years of dictatorship, incompetence, lack of culture, and ill-faith, our cadres in agricultural research, education, and in the production process were insulted and humiliated, and their dignity as specialists and people was trampled. This abuse of professional honor was organized under the motto of "new agrarian revolution," it was invented and patented by the tyrant, and reached its culminating point in 1989 with the torrent of mendacious yields. In its cowardliness, the infamous clique of the dictator tried to involve Romanian agricultural science and our researchers in initiating and promoting illusory production plans.

For almost a quarter of a century and especially in the past 10-year period you were hampered in applying what your great teachers taught you, as well as your own experience, in the production process. You were obliged to observe the provisions of laws and decrees imposed by the tyrant, which lacked any scientific and practical foundation.

All this has led to the destruction of the soil fertility, of the livestock through starvation, of ecosystems, and finally to the farmers' loss of confidence in their work.

Through actions of dictate, constraints, and even suppression of freedom, utopic plans were forced upon you, which disregarded biological laws and conditioned your resources for existence, and many of you received remunerations much below the minimum standard of living.

We suffered, together with you, to see our dignity of people and specialists dragged through the mire of official lies.

Specialists and workers in agriculture,

Have confidence in the National Salvation Front [NSF] and take immediate action by all means to implement the program proclaimed! Let all of us, who are active in agriculture, begin to heal the sores caused by incompetence, imposture, and servility.

Based on the ideas of the NSF program, it is necessary to focus our activity on achieving the following targets:

—Restructuring of all activities in agriculture on the basis of economic efficiency and profitability.

—Eliminating the administrative-bureaucratic methods of centralized management.

—Promotion of free initiative and competence in the management of all sectors in agriculture.

—Making use of all forms of material incentive for agricultural workers.

—Development of agriculture on a scientific basis by taking into consideration the conditions of the ecosystem in each unit, the traditions of our ancestors' agriculture, the achievements of science and technology, and our own experience.

—Let us use our lands with care in order to harvest the crops we really need; let us stop exporting fertilizers and ensure the whole material base in order to give back to the soil what we take from it through our crops so as to restore the fertility of the soil degraded through barbaric exploitation, and let us preserve our lands in this way for future generations.

—Let us restore the love for breeding animals by ensuring the necessary fodder and by correlating our livestock with our real resources so as to ensure the fodder they need.

—Let us refrain from gigantic investments, which are totally at variance with our material resources and which lead to ecological destruction.

Scientific research and agricultural education will support you in all your actions, so that, together, we will ensure better living conditions for our people.

Provisional Committee of the National Salvation Front of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and Forestry

Official on 'Turning Point' in Foreign Policy

AU0601213490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2051 GMT 6 Jan 90

["Romanian Foreign Minister's Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/1/1990—The victory of the revolution in Romania, which led to the overthrowing of tyranny and the winning of freedom, marked a turning point for the Romanian people also in the field of foreign policy.

Romania was and is a European country. The Romanian people have always wanted to develop friendly and cooperative ties with the European countries to which we are linked by our common history and civilization.

Voicing the will of the people to reconstruct and renew Romania, the programme of the Council of the NSF stipulates that the country's foreign policy should serve the promotion of good neighbourliness, friendship and peace in the world, so that it may join the process of building a united Europe, common home of all the peoples of the continent, all while observing its international pledges.

Kept away by the old regime from the process initiated through the Helsinki Final Act, against its will, the Romanian people, free master of its destiny is ready, under the new circumstances created by the establishment of a really democratic society, to fully join the all-European process.

The foreign affairs ministry is empowered to officially declare that Romania withdraws "its reserves and interpretative statements" made upon the order of the old regime on 15 January 1989 in connection with the final document of the all-European [as received] for security and cooperation in Vienna, and to confirm Romania's acknowledgment of this document in its entirety.

Romania will work for the full translation into fact, in earnest, of all the provisions of this document and is decided to contribute, alongside the other European states to the establishment on the continent of a climate of peace and safety, of free cooperation among peoples in most various domains.

NSF Spokesman Munteanu's News Conference

AU0801215090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2030 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Report on news conference by Aurel Dragos Munteanu, spokesman of the Council of the National Salvation Front, in Bucharest on 8 January—with recording of Munteanu in English fading into Romanian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] We now present excerpts from a news conference by Mr Aurel Dragos Munteanu, spokesman of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF].

At the beginning, Aurel Dragos Munteanu spoke about the role of the television in presenting the progress of the revolution as efficiently and correctly as possible. He then spoke about political parties.

[Begin Munteanu recording] One of the first points of the new society is political pluralism. We have not known the meaning of pluralism for more than 40 years. The newly constituted political parties have presented their programs on television. The NSF is not a political party, but rather a moral platform, an outcome of the revolution. It only has the legitimacy endowed it by the revolution. We would like the elections to take place as

soon as possible, so as to have a legally elected government. You could see yesterday, on television, that the old Liberal Party reemerged, that is, Bratianu's and Tatarascu's people [two prominent politicians of the period between the wars]. After the registration of these newly created parties, they can obtain as much television time as they like.

The NSF appointed me as its spokesman, because I do not belong to any political party. Nothing can be solved within two weeks. Nobody expected this miracle—that is, Ceausescu's vanishing from the scene of history. However, we do not have the necessary political experience right now. We must relearn everything from scratch. Everybody is suspicious. We must be patient and remove all suspicions. [end recording]

[Announcer] Answering a question about the trial of terrorists, Aurel Dragos Munteanu said:

[Begin Munteanu recording] The military tribunals will begin their activity in Sibiu today at 1100 [0900 GMT]. The framework for these trials is legal, as a decree has been issued in this respect. You will have free access to the trials and will be able to ascertain this. [end recording]

[Announcer] Answering a question about a possible postponement of the elections, Aurel Dragos Munteanu said:

[Begin Munteanu recording] I do not know of any postponement of elections. They have not been postponed as yet. Political parties will engage in an electoral campaign. Political parties will have their own parties and even their own television [as heard]. I hope they will prepare themselves thoroughly for that. Anyway, they will have free and equal access to television time. The NSF will participate in the elections for the government, parliament, and constitution. We are just beginning. The democratic process is in full swing. You are free to film whatever you want. No journalist was killed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

All officials of the former regime are being investigated. The legal procedure is in full progress. All prisoners are under investigation. You will receive the necessary information. We do not know how many terrorists were involved. Why do you keep asking only about terrorists? Why do you not ask me about industry, agriculture, social issues? All this has been destroyed. In spite of this, these aspects remain our topical priority. Let us talk about this, not about terrorists. You keep scaring people with newspaper stories exclusively about terrorists.

Concerning the financial situation of the Communist Party, I know nothing about it. The Communist Party has ceased to exist. For the time being, nobody is dealing with this problem, because that party no longer has any representatives. Nobody knows anything. Hence, we are waiting. We do not want to confiscate their assets, something which has already been suggested. We want to proceed legally.

We decided on a budget which will be released. The new government will decide in accordance with the new constitution. The economy must function in order to create assets. This is a priority. We must observe our contracts abroad. I support privatization, which, however, is a complex and very long process. We also need experts. The present structure cannot be changed overnight. The government to emerge after elections will have to make decisions in this respect. [end recording]

NSF Appoints New Health Minister

AU0801192290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Decree regarding the nomination of the minister of health. The Council of the NSF [National Salavation Front] decrees:

Article 1. Dan Enachescu is appointed Minister of Health. Signed by the president of the Council of the NSF, Ion Iliescu.

Iliescu Signs Amnesty Decree

AU0501195890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1814 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Amnesty of Offences and Remission of Punishments in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—A decree-law on the amnesty of offences and remission of punishments, signed by the Council of the NSF [National Salvation Front] President Ion Iliescu, was released in Bucharest.

According to it, the political offences under the criminal code and special laws, committed after December 30, 1947, are amnestied. It is shown that political offences are taken to mean the deeds aimed at protesting against the dictatorship and the cult of personality, against terror and abuse of power on behalf of those who held political power, observing man's fundamental rights and freedoms, obtaining civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, removing discriminatory measures and fulfilling other democratic claims.

Under the same normative act, the offenses in the case of which the criminal code or the special laws recommend a three-year sentence and or fee are amnestied and the three year jail sentences and/or fee are entirely pardoned. At the same time, the provision concerning the sending of minors to work and rehabilitation schools is annulled.

These provisions do not apply to recidivists and to those who were found guilty of murder, theft, serious body damage, rape, destruction, bribe taking, illegal arrest and abusive inquiries, ill-treatment, unjust repression, escape and any other offence that was passed a jail sentence of ten years or more.

The provisions of the decree-law are correspondingly applied to the penal deeds and deviations which the law put in the competence of trial commissions.

The decree also shows that the deeds that pose no social threat are no longer sanctioned and the fees and other administrative penalties for such deeds are no longer applied.

Furthermore, contravention penalties are no longer applied.

Those who are pardoned and who commit a new, deliberate offence in three years' time will be punished for the respective offence and will also serve the sentence for which they have been pardoned under the present decree-law.

The decree-law also provides for the creation in each penitenciary and work and rehabilitation school of commissions including delegates of legal, procurator's and police bodies, who will make proposals for individual pardons for other prisoners who do not benefit from the provisions of the present decree-law but who showed good conduct and gave palpable proofs of rehabilitation while serving their sentences.

The provisions of the decree-law on the amnesty of offences and remission of punishments, signed on January 5, 1990, applies to the offences committed until December 22, 1989 included.

Decree on New Organization of Romanian Academy

AU0501201190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1557 GMT 5 Jan 90

["The Romanian Academy Reorganized"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—A new organizational and functional framework has been set for the Romanian Academy under a decree-law of the Council of the National Salvation Front. The measure is part of the action to set Romania's scientific and cultural activity on a new basis, to bring together the nation's foremost minds and put them in the service of the people, of its welfare through a revival of the highest Romanian scientific and cultural institution.

Announcement of New Salary Payment System

AU0701181590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1838 GMT 6 Jan 90

["How Salaries are Paid"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/1/1990—The leadership of the ministry of labour and social security announces in the newspaper "ADEVARUL" of 6 January 1990 the new criteria for the payment of salaries. In industry, in the first quarter of this year, a simplified system will be observed which discards the penalties incurring cuts in salaries as a result of failure to meet certain export tasks and other criteria. All economic and political-social indicators to which salaries in the social-cultural field were linked are dropped, the only criterion being that of the fulfilment of the work tasks. The extra money that can be claimed for hard or hazardous conditions of work shall be paid to all persons entitled to it: no limit is set to their number.

It has been decided that all persons who are out of work as a result of the dissolution of certain organisms through a decision of the NSF Council shall be paid their prerevolution salaries for the duration of three months and be given jobs according to their professional competence.

The ministry executives also announce that a decree on the freezing of posts has been repealed and that the pension fund has been increased so that all persons who meet the conditions for retirement and want to retire may get their pension.

Work is in progress on regulations for financial assistance to the wounded, to the families of the deceased, for putting orphans in centres where they are taken good care of. There is special concern to improve the terms for promotion which is conditional on professional competence and hard work only.

NSF Issues Declaration on Minorities

LD0601103290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0910 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/1/1990—The revolution in Romania, an historic act of the entire people, of the Romanian nation and of the national minorities, attests to the unity and solidarity of all the homeland's sons who have wished freedom and authentic democracy. The blood shed in common has shown that the policy of national hatemongering, based on a chauvinistic practice of forced assimilation as well as the successive attempts to defame neighbour Hungary and the Hungarians in Romania could not succeed in breaking the confidence, friendship and unity between the Romanian nation and the national ministries, the declaration of the National Salvation Front [NSF] released on 5 January shows.

The NSF has learned with satisfaction about the declaration contained in the 25 December 1989 proclamation of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, and it resolutely condemns the policy promoted by the dictatorship with regard to the national minorities, solemnly declaring that it shall achieve and guarantee the individual and collective rights and liberties of all the national minorities.

In its programme, the NSF considers any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, racial hatemongering and the policy of national oppression as incompatible with the democratic character of the revolution.

So, any manifestation of national or racial exclusivism and separatism runs counter to the vital interests of both the Romanian nation and the national minorities. The conjugation of the minorities' specific interests with the majority of the nation's is an essential prerequisite for a

harmonious living-together and for mutual confidence. Real, full equality of rights also means equal assumption of the obligations deriving from the country's laws and from the moral norms based on the best traditions of the common centuries-old destiny, the declaration shows.

Seeking solutions with regard to the reestablishment of the national relations in Romania, taking its inspiration from the patrimony of humanistic thinking, from the European democratic experience, from the Romanians' tradition first of all—the declaration of the National Assembly in Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918, and being determined to impart new dimensions to a harmonious living-together of all ethnical collectivities, the NSF proclaims: The recognition and guarantee of individual and collective rights and liberties of the national minorities under the new Constitution of the country., the elaboration and endorsement of the national minorities' law which should concretize the constitution's provisions. The law is to be passed by the parliament at least six months after the new constitution came [as received] into force., the ensurance of an appropriate institutional framework for the exercise of the minorities' major rights, the use of their mother tongue, the promotion of the national culture and the safeguarding of ethnical identity. To this end a Ministry of the National Minorities will be set up. [punctuation as received]

The NSF considers the existence and normal unfolding of relations between the national minorities in Romania, and the nations to which they are linked through community of language, culture and historical traditions as possible and justified. Certainly, these relations cannot affect the loyalty of the national minorities to their homeland, democratic Romania. By contrast, these relations help deepen their fidelity to the common motherland.

NSF Declaration on Relations With EEC

AU0701180290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] The declaration of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] regarding Romania's relations with the European Economic Communities [EEC].

The NSF expresses satisfaction in connection with the expressions of sympathy extended by all the EEC member countries towards the overthrow of the odious dictatorship which had a grip on the country, towards the sacrifices made by the entire nation and first and foremost by the country's heroic youth so that Romania could embark with dignity and determination on the path of truly democratic reforms.

The NSF Council program opens new prospects for Romania's foreign relations. At the same time with the reinstatement of Romanian people's democracy, freedom and dignity, Romania promotes a foreign policy of good-neighborliness, friendship and peace in the world conducive to its reintegration within the process of building a united Europe.

Within this process, in the relations with the EEC member countries and with the EEC as an entity, we place particular importance on establishing our relations on new bases which would lead to the future development of trade agreements and cooperation in all fields of mutual interest. To that effect, by officially recognizing the EEC, the NSF Council declares it is ready to establish diplomatic relations with the EEC and accredit an ambassador to it.

Decree Issued on Passports, Travel Abroad

AU0801190190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] We now present a decree on regulations concerning passports and travel abroad. In order to ensure the basic rights and freedoms of the Romanian citizens, in accordance with constitutional stipulations and international conventions and treaties to which Romania is a party, the NSF Council decrees;

Chapter 1.

Article 1. The Romanian citizens regardless of nationality, sex, language, religion, political convictions, or occupation have the right to travel abroad freely.

Article 2. Every Romanian citizen has the right to a passport with which he can travel abroad, the Romanian entry/exist visas are abolished. The sums of money in currency that can be ensured for the Romanian citizens who travel abroad will be established by a government decision.

Dear listeners, the decree is very extensive. We shall provide more details in further bulletins. It will be presented in detail in the program 24 hours which starts at 2210 [2010 GMT].

Another last-minute piece of news is that the management of the directorate of passports and foreigners has been appointed through a decision of the Minister of the Interior. Colonel Valeriu Rozoleanu was appointed head of the directorate of passports and foreigners; Colonel Ion Munteanu was appointed deputy head of the directorate.

Further on Passport Decree

AU0801210690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1949 GMT 8 Jan 90

["A New Regime of Passports in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/1/1990—The decree on the regime of passports and travels abroad, signed by Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the NSF [National Salvation Front], has been released. The normative act shows that, in view of securing the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Romanian citizens, in keeping with the constitutional dispositions, the international treaties and conventions Romania is a party to, all Romanian citizens older than 14, irrespective of race, nationality,

sex, mother-tongue, religion, political beliefs, occupation, have the right to freely travel abroad. Every citizen has the right to receive a passport to travel abroad, the entry-exit Romanian visas being abolished. It is also mentioned that the money to be ensured through currency exchange to the Romanian citizens travelling abroad will be established under governmental decision.

Passports of persons with no citizenship are issued upon request to the stateless persons with residence in Romania.

The Romanian diplomatic missions and consular offices shall issue upon request travel titles for the Romanian citizens abroad who, for various reasons, no longer have a document to pass the state frontier.

The decree stipulates that the issuance of a passport is refused, the passport is withdrawn or annulled if: the respective person is under penal prosecution or sentenced to prison, the respective person is prosecuted for debts to the state, juristic or natural persons and their paying off is not guaranteed, the applicants are known through confirmed facts as unfolding activities that upset public order and stability or as committing immoral offense.

The simple passports are issued by the Department of Passports and foreigners' registration and its territorial bodies within 20 days at the most since the date of the application, and in justified emergency cases within three days at the most. The applications for passports of Romanian citizens wishing to establish residence abroad shall be settled by the department of passports and foreigners' registration within three months at the most. The applications already advanced at the department for passport and foreigners' registration shall be settled within 20 days.

The decree also establishes the regime of the visas for the foreign citizens' crossing the state frontier of Romania, establishes the deeds that account for infringements of the provisions of the current normative act.

The decree mentions that the Department of Passports and foreigners' registration is directly subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior.

Decision, Proclamation on Higher Education

AU0901091590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] The Romanian Government decision on higher education proclaims university autonomy, a fundamental characteristic in the organization and operation of higher education.

The proposals on reorganizing and unfolding of the activity in this area will be examined by a consultative commission which is being established at the Ministry of Education and which will be made up of educational cadres and students—representatives of the new leadership, which was democratically elected.

The winter examination session will begin on 26 January and will be an open session. Attending courses and seminars will be optional, with the exception of laboratories and workshops where the attendance is compulsory.

The former system of job assignments for graduates ceases to be valid. In the future, graduation grades and competition will be the priority criteria in this respect. Candidates admitted to higher education will no longer have to have military training before the beginning of the first year courses, so that the continuity of the educational process is ensured.

The number of hours for pupils and students, as well as the teaching norms of educational cadres will be reduced.

Decree on Establishment of ROMPRES

AU0801193090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Decree concerning the establishment of the ROMPRES press agency:

Article 1. On the date of the current decree ROMPRES press agency is established, subordinated to the Council of the NSF [National Salvation Front], through the reorganization of the Romanian press agency AGERPRES which is dismantled.

Article 2. Neagu Udroiu is nominated Director General of the ROMPRES press agency.

Commission for Control of Nuclear Activities

AU0801193790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Decree regarding the establishment of the National Commission for the Control of Nuclear Activities:

The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1. The National Commission for the Control of Nuclear Activities is established by taking over the entire assets and liabilities of the State Inspectorate for the Control of Nuclear Activities and Nuclear Quality.

Article 2. Molariu Stefan Alexandru is appointed President of the National Commission for the Control of Nuclear Activities with the rank of Minister Secretary of State. Signed by the President of the NSF Council, Ion Iliescu.

Decree Establishes Town Planning Commission

AU0801193990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Decree for the establishment of the National Commission for Town Planning and Territorial Organization:

Article 1. With the date of the current decree, the National Commission for Town Planning and Territorial Organization is established.

Article 2. Serban Popescu Criveanu is appointed president of the National Commission for Town Planning and Territorial Organization, with the rank of minister secretary of state.

NSF Council Issues Appeal for Calm

AU0801212090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] The appeal of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF]:

We address to the entire people an insistent appeal for calm, lucidity, and balance. The Romanian revolution took place in order to establish a society of justice and legality. We reject any attempt to resort to personal vendettas and we do not accept or encourage revenge in any way.

Our revolution is that of a national consensus, a revolution which proposes the promotion of freedom and dignity of man.

We do not take into consideration either anonymous denunciations or signed denunciations which cannot be substantiated. For too long the old regime destroyed the lives of thousands and tens of thousands of people on the basis of anonymous denunciations and on the basis of slander which became a foundation for the unjust and repressive measures taken against the people. Any citizen who writes a denunciation or piece of news must assume full responsibility before the law and the public for things written or stated in any manner. The democracy and the freedom in which we believe do not allow us to perpetuate the policy of sad memory in which the fate of a man can be decided by an anonymous letter of telephone call.

A person is neither guilty nor innocent until the law or the competent bodies rule on the matter. We have the duty to restore justice in the relations between all members of our society and to ensure the rule of respect for man.

The current political moment requires, from all of us, lucidity and a sense of balance. All the problems accumulated during decades of tyranny and oppression cannot be solved in a few days or weeks. Whoever tries to destabilize us through vendettas and revenge and through acts of violence places himself outside the law.

We appeal to the sense of justice and to the reason of our people and we are persuaded that it will act decisively and with a full sense of responsibility in order to prevent any abuse or excesses which might harm people's lives or dignity.

Abrogation of Laws on Agriculture, Foreign Trade

AU0901120590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] has adopted a decree-law on the abrogation of laws and decrees which were in force regarding agriculture—issued by the former dictatorial regime—and which are profoundly harmful to the interests of the Romanian people.

Among them, the law on the organization of the peasantry congress and conferences; the decree on awarding the title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution; the decree on certain measures regarding strengthening local self-management and self-sufficiency and ensuring the population's self-sufficiency with bread, flour, and corn meal; the decrees on the required weight for cattle to be slaughtered, on contracting and delivery of wool, vegetables, and fruits, on the evaluation of vegetable crops in the fields, on the formulation and fulfillment of production plans and yields, and of production plans in the animal breeding sector are abrogated. [passage ommitted]

NSF Receive, Meet Foreign Delegations

Mazilu Receives Hungarian Officials

AU0501200390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Call on NSF Council First Vice-President Dumitru Mazilu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—On Friday, January 5, Mr. Dumitru Mazilu, first vice president of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], received a parliamentary delegation of the Hungarian Republic who paid a visit to Romania. Their talk was an opportunity to exchange warm messages of solidarity and friendship between the NSF leadership and the leaders of the Hungarian Republic. Emphasis was placed on the need to take true steps to free bilateral relations from the obstacles posed in the past, to promote a concerted appeal showing that in the current circumstances a sense of understanding should prevail, shows running counter to friendship being prevented and the two peoples' aspirations after a Europe free from dogmas and "-isms", a Europe of justice and man's free development, being encouraged.

The interview was attended by the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest, Pal Szuts.

Mazilu Receives Pope's Envoy

AU0701180390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 6 Jan 90

["Dumitru Mazilu receives Cardinal Francesco Colasuonno"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 06/01/1990—Saturday, 6 January, the first vice-president of the Council of the

National Salvation Front, Dumitru Mazilu, received Cardinal Francesco Colasuonno, Itinerant Apostolic Nuncio for the East European countries, special envoy of Pope John Paul II.

The guest expressed the solidarity and support of the Holy See to the victory of the democratic revolution of the Romanian people to whom he conveyed wishes of success on the road of renewing transformations in Romania.

Mr. Dumitru Mazilu thanked and voiced the belief that the Roman Catholic Church would be by the side of the Romanian people engaged with all their forces in the process of radically renewing the ecumenical, economic and social life, of asserting a highly democratic society in Romania and its church.

Nicolae Receives Israeli Envoy

AU0501200090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1756 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Audience"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—In an audience with the Romanian Minister of Foreign Trade, Nicolae M. Nicolae, the ambassador of the State of Israel in Bucharest, Zvi Mazel, delivered a letter of the ZIM airlines which undertakes to fly into Romania free of charge the humanitarian aid collected by Israeli citizens who immigrated from Romania.

Nicolae Receives FRG's Lambsdorff

AU0501200290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1914 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Romanian-West German Interview"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—Romania and West Germany wish to develop their economic relations on mutually advantageous terms. This wish was reasserted during an interview in Bucharest on Friday, January 5, between Nicolae M. Nicolae, Romanian minister of foreign trade, and Dr. Otto Graf Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party of the Federal Republic of Germany. During their talk, emphasis was placed on the need to call a session of the Joint Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation Between Romania and West Germany as soon as possible to look into possibilities of expanding the two countries' cooperation in areas of mutual interest and take palpable steps along that line. At the same time, questions were approached related to the possibility of the West German Government to aid Romania in the immediately following period.

Iliescu Receives Delegation

AU0701165590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, today received a delegation of the International Federation of Committees for the Supervision of the Implementation of the Helsinki Accord led by Prince Schwarzenberg, president of the federation.

The meeting was attended by Foreign Affairs Minister Sergiu Celac.

Iliescu Receives Heads of Missions

AU0901130490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], today received the chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited to our country.

On behalf of the heads of the diplomatic missions, the ambassador of the Soviet Union, Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, dean of the diplomatic corps [unexplained break in transmission of about 5 seconds] to the president of the NSF on the occasion of the New Year, 1990.

President Ion Iliescu expressed thanks to the members of the diplomatic corps for the warm words conveyed to the leadership of the NSF, to the Romanian people, and to our revolution and asked the participants to convey feelings of gratitude to the leaderships of their countries, to the governments and peoples they represent for the proofs of solidarity and support for our people's struggle, for the broad international recognition of the Council of the NSF, and for the support granted.

Ion Iliescu then emphasized that Romania will work toward a broad international opening and toward active cooperation with all neighboring countries, with European countries, and with all states in the world.

In conclusion, President Ion Iliescu extended warm New Year's wishes to those present.

The meeting was attended on behalf of the Romanian side by the first deputy president of the NSF Council, Professor Dumitru Mazilu; the deputy presidents and secretary of the NSF Council; the president of the Foreign Policy Commission, Silviu Brucan; the minister of Foreign Affairs, Sergiu Celac; and by deputy foreign affairs ministers.

Report on Ceausescu's Loans to 'Insolvent' States

AU0501180990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1557 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Bankrupt Philanthropy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—Romania, which paid back its foreign debt at the cost of an inconceivable degradation of the economic and social situation, could not recover the loans and credits given by the dictator with a stupid generosity to other states. Suffering from hunger and cold, the Romanians were-....bankers. The country's external credits are worth nearly three billion U.S. dollars. Only one country is indebted to Romania by almost 1.6 billion, of which 600 million dollars were not paid on term.

On 31 October 1989 its external credits deriving from commodity exports, operations and services performed amounted to 1,267.3 million dollars. More than 74 per cent of this amount could not be paid off owing to the debtors' financial difficulties. Though the tyrant was informed that most of the debtors were insolvent and were no longer creditable on an international plane, "a detail" the "great economist" had known before granting those credits, "Cabinetul 1" (Ceausescu's office) did not accept the payment of debts in products, for two reasons. First, because the debtors, economically less developed countries in general, suggested to pay in foodstuffs, clothing, medicines, a.o., which would have been given to the population's consumption. An unacceptable "spoiling" for a population which anyhow had a high standard of living, the head of Ceausescu's clique considered. Secondly, he did not accept the payback of credits but in convertible currency to be streamlined toward the centralized hard currency fund of which he availed himself as of its own pocket. A fund which, as proved, was the principal channel whereby the odious tyrant piled up his wealth abroad.

The National Salvation Front [NSF] in the Ministry of Foreign Trade abolished this fund. The ministry's staff resumed negotiations with the chief debtors for the payment of credits in products which will serve productive or individual consumption.

Student Meeting Receives Delegations

AU0701162990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] A meeting organized by the free trade union of students from the Polytechnic Institute took place at the Polytechnic Institute today. The meeting was also attended by representatives of the students of Bucharest University. The messengers of the Timisoara and Iassy students were warmly greeted. Also present were delegations of students from Poland, Czecholsovakia, Britain, and Australia. The students' spokesmen put forth proposals and requests which were submitted for discussion by those present. The students' requests concerned studying and living conditions, freedom, and democracy. These requests will be included in the platform program which will be finalized on the occasion of the free elections which are to take place on 22 January at the level of faculties, institutes, and university centers. We will bring you more details in a reportage which will be broadcast within the radio program for youth scheduled for 1900 hours.

NSF Says Casualties 'Less Than 10,000'

AU0801165790 Paris AFP in English 1647 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 8 (AFP)—The revolution which overthrew Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu left less than 10,000 people dead, a leading member of the provisional government said here Monday.

Silviu Brucan, a leader of the National Salvation Front, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that an earlier official death toll of over 60,000 had included executions ordered by Mr. Ceausescu since he took power in 1965.

Editorial on NSF Efforts To Stabilize Situation

AU0801172790 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 28 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] After days of fierce struggle with the most savage forces of the Ceausescu regime, which are still ignoring the fact that they have definitively lost the game and that the wheel of history has relentlessly rolled over them, it is more and more obvious that the intention of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] is to focus its concerns on working out measures aimed at ensuring the stabilization of the socioeconomic activity, the continuation of a normal life by once again putting existing structures into operation, and, of course, by reorganizing these structures on new bases.

Among the measures initiated so far, one stands out because of its importance, namely the process of forming the government. This process began on Tuesday [26 December] with the appointment—up to the elections in April next year—of Petre Roman as prime minister. With this investiture—that is, of particular importance for ensuring the operation of the state mechanism, other appointments to ministerial positions were also finalized.

To operate fully, the economy and social life in general need clear goals to which they can aspire and they need strict and thoroughly established bodies that will constantly work toward meeting the nation's essential desires and requirements. It is precisely these fundamental requirements that the NSF Council bears in mind in everything it undertakes in these tumultuous days.

To be able to successfully fulfill its duties in solving the great problems faced by our country, the government needs to rely first and foremost on the unity of all creative forces in our society. Only if the wishes are in complete unity, based on the general consensus of all forces involved in the revolution, will the new government be able to fulfill its mission and immediately put into operation all areas of our society and primarily stop the long-standing immobility of the people's creativity to which it was condemned by the Ceausescu regime, and put into motion the people's tremendous energy and power of concentration in their activity—qualities they have excessively put to the test throughout time.

It is in this very idea, which we warmly welcome, that solutions are sought, so that by maintaining existing structures in the economy, economic units and the management of enterprises and central departments may free themselves from the stifling constraints of the former legislation, which virtually annihilated, through excessive centralism, any initiative favoring economic progress and the judicious utilization of production

factors. With this in view, it is more than necessary for economic units and the economy on the whole to have more room for free movement and breathing.

Such an intention of the new government has to be supported with great energy by all of us, because it fully serves our society's interests in general and the need of all of us to overcome the difficult economic situation inherited from the odious dictator.

The revolutionary elan of the Romanian people guarantees the support on which the new Romanian Government can rely.

May this elan unite all of us in the unshakable desire to ensure the well-being of our country!

Comparison of Abrogation of Ceausescu Decrees

AU0301182590

Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian on 27 December on page 1 carries the 520-word text of the "Law on the Abrogation of Some Laws, Decrees, and Regulations." The ADEVARUL report, entitled "The Tyrannical Laws Have Been Eliminated," has been compared with the Bucharest Domestic Romanian version published in the 27 December East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 58 and 59, revealing that the two versions are identical except for the following:

Page 58, column two, paragraph two, end of only sentence reads: ...Front adopts the present law: [new paragraph] Sole Article. The following laws...(changing wording)

Page 59, column one, paragraph two, only sentence reads:...the penal code: Articles number 1 985-1 988 on abortion...(changing article number)

Page 59, column one, paragraph four, only sentence reads: The Council of the National Salvation Front. (deleting words "The decree is signed by")

Drnovsek Cables Greetings to CSSR's Havel

LD0401182790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, sent a telegram of congratulations to Vaclav Havel, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on the occasion of the latter's election to the post. In the telegram Drnovsek, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and the Yugoslav people, and in his own name, sends—among other things—cordial congratulations and best wishes for the comprehensive development and democratic transformation of friendly Czechoslovakia. I take this opportunity, the telegram adds, to express the conviction that the traditional cooperation between our countries and peoples, which has deep historical roots, will continue and improve to our mutual benefit, in the spirit of friendship and mutual respect.

Ion Iliescu Thanks SFRY for Greetings

LD0801160390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jan (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received from Ion Iliescu, President of the Council of the Romanian National Salvation Front [NSF], a telegram which says:

On behalf of the Council of the NSF and myself personally, I send to you and the SFRY Presidency sincere thanks for the greetings sent in connection with my election as president of the Council.

The Romanian people express warm thanks for the expressions of friendship and solidarity, which the people and leadership of Yugoslavia manifested vis a vis the difficult struggle—of the Romanian nation against a tyrannical regime—for progress, prosperity and democracy.

I am convinced that the friendship and solidarity of the people and leadership of Yugoslavia with the people of Romania, manifested in these difficult moments in their history, will lead to a strengthening of relations, traditional friendship, and the intensification of cooperation between the two countries, both in the bilateral and multilateral sphere, for the benefit of progress and peace.

LCY 'Draft Document' on Democratic Socialism

LD1812162889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0633 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—A working group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium has prepared the draft declaration "For a New Outline of Democratic Socialism for Yugoslavia," which will be put forward for consideration and approval by the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress. The text was recently considered by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the committee for the preparation of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress. Prior to being sent to Congress delegates, it will be considered at the next session of the LCY Central Committee. The draft of this document reads as follows:

LCY Declaration For a New Outline of Democratic Socialism, For Yugoslavia and For a World of Peace, Freedom and Solidarity

1. The world is undergoing profound economic, technological and political changes; it is threatened by ecological hell and the gulf between the developed and the undeveloped; there are still many unresolved problems of war and peace; a new balance of economic and political forces is emerging, especially in Europe; international understanding and disarmament are progressing; and there have been great changes in the countries of socialism. In this single world which we have it depends on all of us whether or not it will move along the road of peace, freedom, cooperation, and human and social solidarity or whether it will move backwards to self-destruction. The LCY is fighting for a democratic, socialist alternative for the world.

A Time For Making a Break With Authoritarian Socialism

2. Socialism is now confronted with the exhaustion of the model of social reproduction. The end has come for authoritarian socialism. Democratic reforms and essential changes in production relations on the basis of market commodity production are underway.

Yugoslavia is undergoing changes, and it is time for wholesale and radical social reform. We are creating a social system with the properties of democratic socialism.

For Democratic Socialism

3. Our goal is to achieve a society of individual freedom and democracy, self-management, social justice, solidarity, and material wealth. We want a Yugoslavia as a democratic, socialist society; a free, pluralistic, integrated economic and political country, but which lives in a harmony with the rest of the world. This society should move toward increasingly the rights for individuals and citizens—toward a republic of citizens—but also toward greater social justice and security. With such a democracy within itself and with a market-orientated motivation, it will progress as an efficient society in accordance with the supreme standards of the protection of the individual, and of economic, scientific-technological and cultural progression.

The Freedom of the Individual Above All

4. Our system should rest on the natural inalienable rights of the individual, who also appears as the sovereign political subject. There is no greater historical, state or class goal above the dignity of the individual and nor

are there any rights or freedoms older than man's individual rights and freedoms. State power should not interfere with these freedoms—it is obliged only to protect them.

The new principles of our system will be given a foundation by us through developing political, social and civil forms of the free activity of the individual and his associations. We will call a halt to the collectivism of a class, nation, or party which is imposed "from above," and to any political violence; we will liberate space for the individual as a free, creative and responsible political personality; and we will free the creativity and spontaneity of people. This freedom also contains space for economic, political, spiritual, national and any other freedoms, and also space for spontaneous and organized, but not imposed, collectivism.

We need a much more democratic political culture, tolerance, and a respect for the differences in, and rules of, democratic political communication for the freedom of the political life of the dignified citizen. The main criterion for our democratic socialism in the protection of personal, political, social, and other rights of the individual and the citizen should be respect for international standards, especially those codified in the United Nations. We will remove any possibility of the state administration acting as an arbiter, of political control and of the restriction of the constitutional rights and freedoms of the individual.

We Will Extend The Limits of Political Freedoms

5. The LCY is committed to the freedom of the expression of views regardless of political convictions, to the freedom to hold meetings and reach agreements, the freedom of public information dissemination, and all other freedoms of the citizen.

We advocate the broadest freedom of political association and activity of citizens, accompanied by the necessary limitations only for the purpose of the protection of the constitutional bases of the community and of the equal rights and freedoms of others. These limitations must be in the hands of an independent judiciary functioning on the principles of a law-governed state. Associations, movements, parties—this depends on the will of the citizens, while the freedom of elections must be guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

The LC [League of Communists] will at the same time fight, using democratic means, for the association of all socialist organizations. The LC will campaign for its own political legitimacy in elections and in other forms of the direct expression of the political will of citizens.

We will create, with political pluralism, a new quality of life, and we will develop a new method of gaining power at free elections, and its restriction in terms of time to an electoral period. There is no power of the people without free political organization.

We Will Strengthen the Right to Self-Management

6. The LCY will campaign for the strengthening of the right to self-management as one of the most important human rights in our system, and for a historical perspective of this right, which is based on, and confirmed by, our reality. This right should be achieved as the individual right of each human being to free self-organization in all spheres of life, especially in local self-management; as an economic and social right on the basis of labour and resources (the right to self-management, codetermination or participation) which belongs to employees in enterprises; as a national right through which is realized one of the important dimensions of national equality in the institutions of the social system. We will make a break, via such a pluralism of self-managing contents and forms, with the unrealistic normative projection of the system of so-called integral self-management. We will develop self- management as the motivation for the creative freedom of the personality and for productive work, and also as a way of achieving the direct self-liberation of workers, individuals and citizens from all kinds of monopoly.

We advocate free, autonomous trade union association; we advocate the self-managing and protective functions of the trade union organizations in enterprises in relation to owners and managers, and their partnership-style relationship with the state authorities.

For National Equality

7. The LCY supports the legitimacy of national interests and their full affirmation and realization in the institutions of society and of the state, but it rejects nationalist exclusivity and chauvinism, because this destroys national equality. We will fight, in the future, too, against any violation of national integrity as if fighting against the most serious political and moral problems of the whole of society.

Our goal is a harmonious life together in the interpenetration of national cultures, in national equality, in differences, reciprocity, trust, and respect.

We will consistently advocate the advancement of the position and rights of the national minorities (nationalities) in Yugoslavia and for their full subjectivity.

We will energetically advocate recognition and respect of the national rights of the parts of the Slovene, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonia and Montenegrin nations which, as national minorities, live in neighboring countries.

For the Emasculation of the Politocracy

8. The first condition of this social reform of ours is to free the political system of any monopoly, including that of the LCY. In this manner we will free those political forces which—for the purpose of economic well-being, ecological balance, democratic and cultural blossoming,

social justice, and security for themselves and all people—try to emasculate the political organization known as the party state and the state party.

We will change as soon as possible the system of monopoly, economic and political government which, through the logic of self-reliance, has pushed us into autarky and prevented us from keeping up with the economic, technological, political, and social changes in Europe and the world. We are changing all this so that it might not be too late for socialism in Yugoslavia tomorrow.

For a Law-Governed and Social State

9. In the sphere of state power it is necessary to establish the principles of the state's rule of law, the autonomy of civil society and the functions of the modern social state.

We will free ourselves from state-political control and control from above by making the economic subjects, citizens and their associations independent. A substitution for normativism is the most necessary legal regulation of the basic principles and rules equally binding on all subjects.

The principles of the law-governed state, in other words the rule of law, require the implementation of the inviolable, inalienable, and indivisible sovereignty of the people; differing forms of direct and representative democracy and citizen's control of state power; legality and the legal equality of citizens; the independence of the courts, and especially their depolitization; and the legislative authority of the assemblies and their control over executive state power.

We advocate the development of the social functions of the state, which will concern themselves with the common good and well-being of citizens and with their social security and the greater quality of life.

We want our own efficient and rational state power under the control of the people.

Free, direct, and secret elections are the basis of the law-governed state and the sovereignty of the people over it.

There is no electoral freedom for citizens without the freedom of the press and of political association. We seek the right for all political subjects to establish independently, and in equal conditions, their own candidates and take part in the electoral process.

For the Democratic Federal System of Yugoslavia

10. The federal system on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles is the basis of Yugoslavia. The democratic reform of our society also requires the radical democratization of the federation. In this way we will democratize intranational relations on the principles of national equality togetherness, cooperation, and interpenetration, instead of confrontations poisoned in a bureaucratic way.

We will transform the federal organs into the organs of a democratic law-governed state, with economic and social functions without which there is no free market economy. Such functions are of common interest to everyone in Yugoslavia and, on the basis of the free agreement of the federal units, they should be laid down in the Yugoslav Constitution. We will restore to our federation its identity and legitimacy as a modern federal state.

The present situation requires more than ever before that the federal state, based on these principles, and on the basis of agreement between and the responsibility of its constituent subjects, has the legal power vital for resolving the problems in the Yugoslav community. The situation requires that the federal state has available to it powers to conduct macroeconomic policy appropriate to a market economy. Also, that the federal state is the guarantor of the constitutional position, freedom, equality, and sovereignty of the nations and republican states, as well as of the constitutional rights of the national minorities in Yugoslavia, but in the same measure also of all citizens of the SFRY.

The constituent subjects of the federation are the federal units with their statehood and sovereignty and the citizens of Yugoslavia with their inalienable national sovereignty. The source of the power and sovereignty of the federal organs lies with these subjects and the federal organ is responsible to them.

The new Constitution should apply these principles in the organization of the federal state and in the definition of relations with the federal states and with the provinces.

The independence and effectiveness of the republics are necessary as constituent parts of the federal constitutional order. This will facilitate successful national development and the development of each federal unit, but also the strengthening of the Yugoslav community on the basis of the responsibility of these communities for their own development and for the development of the country. We reject all the ideas and attempts to change this position of the republics along the lines of steps towards unitarism or the state and legal disintegration of the Yugoslav federation.

Our federalism is much more than a state construction. We advocate free civil, self-managing, and other initiatives which will permeate the Yugoslav community. We also advocate the spontaneity and self-organization of connections and institutions in the sphere of civil society which expands this community and fills it with contents which suit the individual, associated nations, and national minorities.

11. Our goal is to achieve economically efficient, market-orientated, but also ecological and socially responsible business operations.

The reformed economic order will signify a break with the so-called consensus economy which destroys the

operation of market laws. Respect for the market of all the factors of production and the modern role of the state will facilitate a more rapid move toward material and spiritual well-being, and the quality maintenance and development of all areas of life and institutions of society.

On these principles we will build a new developmental conception and economic structure, open to contemporary economic, scientific, and technical progress, which facilitates dynamic economic and social development, the reduction of unemployment, productive employment and the resolution of housing problems, but also unharmed ecological space.

We need a strengthening of the market community in the Yugoslav area and integration into the European and world market community, with the developed market ethnic of economic responsibility, rationality and reciprocity. The Yugoslav unified economic situation will be characterized by the free circulation of goods and services, capital, people, ideas, knowledge, business enterprise, and the free intergration of autonomous economic subjects.

The social sector must be fundamentally reformed into modern and rational production, service and other activities, in the conditions of market competition between forms of ownership wherever this is possible, and be protected from monopolies in all other cases.

Inflation has become the most serious problem of our society and so it must be stopped urgently and reduced to within normal limits. The LCY advocates a democratic agreement between the most responsible political subjects in Yugoslavia on this most important move along the road to stabilization.

Knowledge as a Value and Force

13. [number as received] We will develop and use knowledge as the main production force and value. Scientific-technological development is an integrative world process, and hence our socialism has a chance only as an open society: In terms of time, geography, and in accordance with the rights and creative opportunities of the individual. We will accomplish a great deal by becoming involved more rapidly and to a greater extent in the research programs of Europe and other world regions.

Respecting and supporting the freedom of the individual to increase his creative power, we are equipping ourselves for radical changes in production methods, production relations, and in the class and social structure, for the effective application and development of scientific-technological achievements. In the potential of post-industrial technologies and the organization of work, business transactions and social management, socialist forces must recognize and exploit the new scope for the emancipation of the individual and the development of self-management.

There Is No Ownership Without Owners

14. We will advocate equal general conditions for business operations in all forms of ownership. We will also advocate that social ownership is reproduced and increased as social capital and that it is managed rationally in different forms, in conditions of ownership competitions; that different forms of ownership be mutually integrated and permeate each other; and that a process of socialization and privatization is developed, but ensuring the preservation of the material values of resources, of social capital.

Social property must have someone with an economic and legal title to it for it to be as ownership. We cannot and will not resolve this issue by administrative logic but by market logic, which also contains the possibility of share ownership, collective ownership, and similar methods of the socialization of production; in other words, the hitherto seemingly social as well as private ownership, and the right to the appropriation of the results of social production. We are beginning a complex process of the transformation of social ownership.

We advocate the right of each individual to possess property, alone or together with others, along with the guarantee that no one can arbitrarily deprive him of his property.

The LC advocates state and public ownership wherever it is the most appropriate nature of activity, where the public interest predominates, and where the generation of profit is not of primary importance. Effective mechanisms of social control are necessary in these areas.

Protection of the Environment—Protection of the Individual

15. The purpose and future of man's life increasingly depends on the degree of protection and preservation of his environment. This protection has become an existential biological, economic-political, and cultural question of every modern society, including ours; hence it is one of the primary program tasks of the LCY. By combined efforts the world must halt the destruction of the environment lest it fall irreversibly into the abyss of self-destruction. This danger is the integrative tissue not only of Yugoslav society but also of the European and world community, because it requires global actions. Socialism is faced with a new opportunity—an initiative vis-a-vis the ecological movements.

Yugoslavia must develop much more rapidly to extricate itself from underdevelopment, but in the process it must associate itself with the modern world which is seeking a way of balancing quantitative progress with the greatest possible quality of life, in which ecology is paramount. The individual's right to a healthy environment is one of the most important individual rights which every society with its organs of authority should protect, especially from those members of the world and their own community whose interest in profit and gain is above their

interest in preserving the environment. This must become one of the most important functions of the law-governed state.

We will harmonize development and ecology. We will establish an ecologically responsible society by democratic decisionmaking and rigorous public supervision of economic and other activities, which endanger the environment. The shock forces of social control are the mass and initiative-based ecological movements in which people think globally but act locally.

New Social Policy in the New Development Project

16. We regard the quality of social security, reciprocity, and solidarity of people in market economy conditions as a value of society's entire life, as a value of democratic socialism. Our social policy ought to rely to a greater extent on the social functions of the state and social community, and on the responsible individual as well.

We want Yugoslavia to be a just society that provides everyone with equal opportunities in life and equal opportunities to develop himself. We stand for a social policy that stimulates and requires increased responsibility for oneself and one's welfare and self-organizing in providing security against risks (via various societies, unions, etc). By a new social policy let us create an opportunity for every Yugoslav to support himself with his own work, and only if this is not viable let society provide him with basic life security. We advocate a comprehensive policy for the protection and development of family and particularly for the quality of children's lives. We will protect in the most effective way the unemployed by the insurance system and its corresponding development.

The LCY Must Change Itself

17. In a democratic society no one is entitled to be the owner of the single political truth.

The LCY should transform itself as soon as possible into a modern democratic political organization with a renewed socialist program. The Yugoslav Communists will work under conditions of a pluralist political organization in society as an equal political organization in democratic interaction with all other political subjects and in democratic alliance with all citizens' socialist-oriented organizations, associations, and movements.

The LCY needs new political ideas and new programs for socialism in Yugoslavia; public political initiatives in the democratic pluralist environment, and particularly in the practice of electoral and assembly procedures to facilitate the implementation of these programs. Only these kind of things can succeed in the new project of socialism.

The social basis of the LCY ought to be the broadest strata, particularly workers, and the most creative strata in production, science, and all other spheres of human creativity. The LCY must be open to all citizens, movements, and associations—to individual and collective membership on the part of those who accept its socialist program orientation. The LCY will also liaise with other political subjects to implement the shared program aims.

We will create democratic internal relations within the party whereby the free political initiative and creative potentials of every member will reign supreme, and we will adjust accordingly all our forms of organization and norms of conduct in the LC.

Associated Into Europe

18. New qualities of interdependence are appearing in the world which are producing global problems of ecology, democracy, technology, population, and North-South relations. With these problems we are also entering a new era of international relations which can no longer be based on the struggle for dominance between military-political and opposing ideological blocs and systems.

Peace and international security are the inalienable right of the individual, nations, and countries, which are achieved through equal relations and cooperation in the international community.

The Nonaligned Movement, which acts towards the United Nations on the principles of a humanistic idea about a world of peace, cooperation, and prosperity, remains for us a vital factor in the resolution of international problems.

We advocate the even more rapid advancement of our policy toward Europe. The European goals of mutual cooperation and interpenetration are also our goals. Hence our new place in Europe is the foundation stone for the whole transformation and prospertiy of Yugosalvia. We advocate the full participation of Yugoslavia in European integration processes, membership in the European Community, and in the Council of Europe, European Free Trade Association, and other related European organizations and institutions. We support the steps taken by the competent organs of Yugoslavia toward this.

We appraoch a united Europe as a unity in diversity.

What Kind of Cooperation With Other Parties and Movements

19. The LCY's transformation is inseparable from full openness and cooperation with other political parties and movements on the principle of equality and reciprocity, and particularly with socialist, communist, and social democratic parties in Europe and the world whose programs are, in terms of their aims, akin to the LCY program. Changes in the LCY will impart new impulses

and contents to this cooperation. This process of integration and cooperation also includes in principle different forms of more lasting ties, as well as associations for the realization of individual program goals, such as ecological goals.

Priority Political Moves

1

1. Immediately set about preparing a new SFRY Constitution.

2. In the shortest time after the congress prepare proposals for a new program and statute of the LCY, which will be discussed by the entire LCY membership.

2

1. Ensure, by the reconstruction of constitutional and legal norms, the necessary conditions and guarantees for the realization of the accepted international acts in the sphere of freedom and human rights, and regulate in a new way individual rights and freedoms of citizens.

2. Abolish the verbal offense and other criminal-legal norms which negate the citizens' political rights as set out in the Constitution, or which are an obstacle to their implementation.

3. In electoral law establish, prior to the beginning of the forthcoming elections, conditions and opportunities for the equal participation of all political subjects.

4. Pass a law on the freedom of political association on the principles represented in this declaration.

5. Become involved in the Council of Europe.

3

1. Reach urgent agreement in Yugoslavia on a program for curbing inflation and implement tasks from this program by mid-1990 at the latest.

2. Implement radical economic reform by changing the economic system and economic and developmental policy.

3. Create preconditions for new economic development and become involved on this basis in Europe and world integration processes.

In connection with these issues the LC will immediately launch, after the congress, a political initiative with the aim of adopting as soon as possible, and within 6 months at the latest, appropriate decisions and preparations for the project-outline of the changes.

Immediately set about the project-outline for curbing inflation and for economic reform.

Polemics at Dec Serbian Congress Reported

AU2512012289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 89 pp 5, 6

[Report on Serbian League of Communists congress commissions work 15-17 December]

[Excerpts] If on Friday, the first day of the 11th Congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia, it looked as if the discussion in the Commission for the Reform of the LC and Statute was mainly going to flow as a quiet wide river, without surprises or special excitement, on Saturday, this initial political nirvana that was obviously only warming up was turned almost upside down. It started very early, almost with the first speaker, and spurted everywhere, lasting until the end of the second day of the congress. At the end, it appeared that there were more retorts than regular, orderly registered speeches. There were 35 retorts to various speakers and to various topics, but all in all only 33 speeches.

Discussions were held about the statute, youth, ecology, new student organizations, membership fees, and so forth. Several polemics were also held with those from the other side of the republican fence (true, incomparably fewer and incomparably milder than those often heard before the congress), one was able to hear what were until recently the usual ephemeral cliches on the "need to change the method of the LC work" and similar smoke screens of all sizes.... However, the main theme, dilemma, and point for a political clash in this commission was the question: Is the Serbian LC for or against a multiparty system as the classical and at present the only known form of political pluralism?

Political Chastisement

Ideas ranged from self-indulgent and magnanimous acceptance of "nonparty political pluralism" to open endeavor for multiparty pluralism and a system in which the LC could happen to, if need be, fight against the fascists in the parliament. This clumsy formulation expressed by Tomislav Kresojevic infuriated the "charming chairman" (as referred to by Vojislav Milenkovic), Slobodanka Gruden, and some other delegates, to the extent that interesting Kresojevic was immediately politically chastised and almost chased away from the rostrum. He was only saved by his own determination to explain the whole thing at any price and his resoluteness in not letting anybody remove him by force from the rostrum of a "democratic party."

The following brief dialogue graphically illustrates how things went:

Niko Bodrozic: "In my view, this (endeavor for a multiparty system) would be just like me saying that I was in favor of my wife having another husband while I am still alive."

Rade Milosavljevic: "Never in a million years would it occur to me to suggest to my wife to have one more husband. However, if I do not fulfill all her wishes and her needs...."

The winners were those who held the view that nobody can deny a wife the right to an alternative if her legal husband "does not fulfill her needs."

Judging by everything, the key role for this outcome was expressed by the sentence, which was often cited with special emphasis and ardor, contained in the opening speech by Bogdan Trifunovic:

"Regarding Serbia, I would first of all like to say that, at least as regards the stand of all the most responsible leaders of Serbia, the LC of Serbia and the Republic of Serbia have no reason and do not wish to administratively hinder the formation of other parties."

Otherwise, Saturday morning started off cautiously and more or less carefully. For instance, Pavic Obradovic warned that it is "strategically important that the Serbian leadership is no longer reproached for being the biggest obstacle to thinking and organizing along pluralist lines." Nedeljko Sipovac even openly said that the "LC should accept competition on equal footing with all those forces which favor a socialist program, the socialist character of authority, national equality, the affirmation of the rights and freedom of man and citizen...." True, he did impose one restriction: "We must not fail to give a clear negative answer to all advocates of antisocialist, anti-Yugoslav, and nationalist ideas."

Without Ideological Restrictions

Vojislav Milenkovic went a step further in this respect. In addition to favoring party pluralism, he implicitly favored ideological pluralism. He proposed that the main party goods—ideas, ideals, and ideology—be subjected to the political competition with similar goods offered by other production plants on the free "market of ideas." It appears that this was too much for Professor Dragomir Draskovic, who is known in the party as an eloquent supporter of the LC reforms and other reforms. He came to the rostrum and replied to Milenkovic and some other speakers and initiated the polemics which eventually resolved the entire dispute. First of all, he said "we spent too much energy on creating the preconditions for political pluralism, instead of reinforcing the concept of what we call nonparty pluralism." He then asked: "If the new parties are saying that they are fighting without any ideological restrictions, will we again have on our political scene national-socialism and everything that goes with it?"

Draskovic also supported his reservations about the eruption of the multiparty romanticism with the following arguments: "One scientific poll has shown that the membership is against a multiparty system"; "every party system establishes relations of dominance"; "it would not be a solution to break one party monopoly with multiparty monopoly"; "a multiparty system could lead us to many uncertainties"; "when capital relations, profitability and so on are established, the profit must arise from the surplus value created by somebody"; "my answer to the claims that a multiparty system is our fate is negative."

Finally, Professor Draskovic offered one more argument for nonparty democracy: "The process which should in my view be developed in our country should define the real measure of democracy, because if democracy does not find its measure, it could turn into anarchy. This measure is human emancipation without domination and without any kind of repression."

Niko Bodrozic was much more open than Draskovic. Before he expressed his view on a wife with two husbands, which we cited above, Bodrozic stated that "personally, and on behalf of his constituent party organization, he did not agree with all LC members who were in favor of a multiparty system." He asked "those" to leave the LC.

Opposing those who mentioned the elimination of the LC from the political scene and those who claim that the LC no longer enjoys a good reputation among the people, Vladimir Divljakovic argued the opposite: "This party is not a person with no roots and was not introduced in society from outside as it was done in some countries with real socialism. We all know that in the past the party saved the people from a great evil and gained lasting historic reputation. Therefore, it cannot fall, or be blown away from the political scene with one move."

LC Owes History

These, above all, Draskovic's views on a multiparty system and the mood of the membership and people, started a political battle which characterized the entire Saturday discussion in the Commission for the Reform of the LC. Olga Petrovic opposed, in fact, the second thesis: "The situation is in fact completely opposite. The membership is in favor of the classical multiparty system, a system that would neither be rationed nor restricted with anything." Dragoslav Grubor wanted to know "where in the contemporary world the so-called nonparty pluralism functioned efficiently." He also said that the above mentioned results of a poll should be carefully used and interpreted.

Srdjan Djordjevic was in favor of a multiparty system "so that his party would indeed become the vanguard." Zivko Ljubisavljevic said that without recognizing pluralism and its confirmation in practice it would be impossible to carry out a true democratization of political life for the benefit of man." Goran Trivan was against the "introduction" of a multiparty system for one single reason: In his view this system is not for "introducing," it is a democratic achievement independent of any wishes and should be treated as such. The essence lies in the question: Should we recognize and elaborate it or should we not recognize it?

In this series of energetic striving for a multiparty system and free political association of citizens, Svetozar Krstic was the clearest in reminding the LC of some of its obligations to "historic justice":

"I think that it would be historically just if at this congress the LC—as the follower of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia which had the first hand experience of what it meant to be banned, to go to prison for holding political gatherings, or for working illegally—respecting the idea on the freedom and rights of citizens, said: People, join together and organize politically, but do not threaten the rights of others."

What Is It That You (Just) Said, President!

In the debate on the multiparty system in the Commission for the Reform of the LC, attention was particularly drawn to and many reactions were caused by the speech by Dr Rados Smiljkovic who first of all asked how it was possible that in talks on political pluralism "no one today remembered the LCY program which is still valid," with which, as he said, we embarked on overcoming party political organization in favor of self-management organization.

According to Smiljkovic, with the events in other socialist countries "pluralism has suddenly come to the forefront, a pluralism which is reduced to multipartyism" and why would we also do that when we have already taken a stand for a humanist variant which has gone beyond party political organizing.

In a situation where the political system of organizing is being reexamined in parliamentary systems in the West, a political system whose basis, foundation, and essence is multipartyism, when we reexamine, consider, and discuss self-management, in some of our communities, at some of our levels, it seems that some people want to forget self-management, said Smiljkovic who went on to recall that "we do not only have the LC," but we have a number of other sociopolitical organizations.

He went on to speak about the so-called party and state apparatus and spoke, among other things, about its indispensability. He said that not one single party can do without it, that one should be careful with it, that politics cannot cope without professionals, and so on.

All these and some other of Smiljkovic's opinions met with reaction from several delegates and new polemics were opened up. Jelena Petrovic was the first to react and said that the state is a law-governed state or it does not exist at all. She then reproached Smiljkovic for advocating a partyless system, "which is useless because it is for some distant future."

Branko Dakovic admitted that bureaucrats prevail, but asked "who else created these bureaucrats if not the Communists?" After this, the chairwoman, Slobodanka Gruden attempted to interrupt these polemics. However, Vladimir Ognjenovic said he wanted to respond to Rados Smiljkovic "concerning the party apparatus." In this connection, he said the workers class had never been against its leadership but that it was against a leadership of billionaires, rich people, those who drove expensive cars, and against a leadership that lives so well while its workers class lives in poverty and misery. "The workers class advocates that such a leadership be replaced."

Slobodan Vladisavljevic reproached Smiljkovic "for directing us" because, as he said, people had been formulating what they were going to say at this congress for months. Then, quoting part of Dr Bogdan Trifunovic's speech, he reminded Smiljkovic what Trifunovic had said about party pluralism and what the congress had welcomed. [passage omitted]

We Need A New AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]

The central theme of political pluralism which was, in fact, introduced into the debate by the president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, Bogdan Trifunovic himself—which was a surprise for some people—was interpreted in different ways by the delegates at the sessions of the Commission for the Reform of the Political System. Just as there were delegates who accepted with obvious relief the now already official stand that administrative obstacles will not be erected to the formation of new associations and alliances, there were a not inconsiderable number of delegates who did not conceal their regret at and serious concern about what will happen to socialism if all sorts of parties come onto the public scene and begin to pull the Serbian people in their own direction.

It could be said that a certain amount of time will be necessary for Communist officials in Serbia to get used to the phrase of "political pluralism" and probably also to the possibility of the existence of some other parties as parties in competition. Petar Skundric, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY, for example, said: "The preparations for the congress have shown that objectively speaking the LCY continues to be the political force most capable of formulating ideas and programs that are acceptable for the majority of citizens. The people do not accept nor will they accept any extremism. They particularly will not replace reform of society with a simple political revolt that would ensure that representatives of some antisocialist political coalition would come to power, instead of Communists and workers and citizens. The people in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have strongly manifested their trust in the LC and their devotion and loyalty to socialism."

However, Slobodan Vucetic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, expressed dissatisfaction at the beginning of his speech with the formulation that is offered in the congress document because "it points to a relatively rigid coalitional character for the Socialist Alliance so that it can even be wrongly understood that we are allowing or at least that we think that no kind of organizing is allowed outside the Socialist Alliance of Working People." He immediately proposed

that the sentence be added that "the autonomous activity of various alliances, associations, and political organizations of citizens is not excluded, particularly since the commission for the resolution will be analyzing this again."

A wave of retorts was caused by Nedeljko Kuljic's advocation of a multiparty system because this is not "a matter of political will or a decision by an organization that is in the position of having a monopoly, but this concerns an inherent necessity that can only be crushed temporarily." First of all, Momcilo Trajkovic, secretary of the Communal Committee of the Pristina LC and a guest of the congress, said that "firm advocates of political pluralism, of particularly a multiparty pluralism, must understand that while there is no freedom of existence in one part of our beautiful country, in another part the freedom to associate into a multiparty system is being demanded. I ask you, think about what that will be like even in the Kosovo region." Jovan Koprivica said that he was in favor of a multiparty system, but he thought that the LC "cannot organize other parties." Djordje Scepancevic saw the problem as follows: "One part of the leadership went to the people and solved the problem, wishing to maintain themselves as a movement. Another part of the leadership—the Slovenes—has set up so-called parties which it called the truth. Is there anybody here who could demonstrate on whatever basis that the movements in Slovenia are parties or any kind of movements?" [passage omitted]

To Admit Error

Dragan Radovic, delegate from Kosovo, believed that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia/LCY inflicted great harm on the Serbian people "in the name of some abstract internationalism" and that cadres in the party "worked against their own people," and he demanded that the 11th Congress of the LC of Serbia should: 1) Adopt a stance and politically condemn the portion of the LCY program on the national question and the LCY policy toward Kosovo and Metohija, and thus toward Serbia, during the war and after the war; 2) the Communist Party of Yugoslavia/LCY should admit its error and responsibility for an erroneously conducted policy in Kosovo and Metohija, or rather in Serbia; and 3) this congress should demand that the LCY should do so at the next extraordinary LCY Congress. [passage omitted]

Commission for Reform of the Economic System: Stop Violence Committed to the Economy

If politics is indeed a concentrated expression of economics, it is beyond doubt that we have lived in a period of very poor economics. The voluntarist violence perpetrated by politics on the economy has led us almost to a collapse of the material basis of our society.

These words by delegate Slavomir Radosevic in the Commission for the Reform of the Economic System could of course explain many contradictions and clashes that are virtually ravaging Yugoslav politics.

The situation in the economy of Serbia is such, as Nenad Bogdanovic assessed, that it is almost catastrophic. He said that it was so not only because of the conduct of the economic policy at the Yugoslav level but also for "domestic reasons."

Bogdanovic added that the proclamation on the breaking of economic relations with Slovenia that was imposed on the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia has opened the eyes of many of us to see how those who conduct the economy of Serbia are incompetent and probably also corrupt. We read in POLITIKA every day how directors of shops explain that they will no longer buy in Slovenia because the manufacturers in Serbia and other republics will offer their goods more cheaply. My comment on all this is: This beats all. Where have all these comrades managers been until now, being only hindered by self-management, without which they would perform miracles?

In general, different tones prevailed, such as by Milorad Ankovic who said that the relations with Slovenia should not be tied to the Socialist Alliance of Working People proclamation. It is a matter of inequality. We can no longer allow anybody exclusively to sell without buying, to set up a network in Serbia but preventing the Serbia economy to do the same over there, to sell at high prices and to buy cheaply. We will follow our economic interests so that we too may get richer and will not be just southerners and Balkan people. [passage omitted]

Chief of Staff Discusses Military's Role

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[Report on interview with Lieutenant General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, by NARODNA ARMIJA; date and place not given: "Numerically Smaller and Technically More Modern Armed Forces"]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Blagoje Adzic, who assumed the duties of the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces at the beginning of October this year, responded to a request by NARODNA ARMIJA and answered some questions.

[Question] How do you assess the military-political position of Yugoslavia in the light of the latest processes in the world and in Europe, and especially in the Balkans? Does a certain thaw in international relations, especially in Europe, essentially change the strategy of those forces whose aim is to destroy Tito's Yugoslavia?

[Answer] The present military political situation in the world is more favorable in comparison with the situation a few years ago. I am only pointing out two processes that characterize it: the first is negotiations and agreement between the big powers, and the second, significant changes in socialist countries. The result of the first process is a relaxation of tension, partial disarmament, a

certain calming down of the hotbeds of crises, and in general a more favorable climate in overall relations. In this sense one may speak about a certain thaw, which certainly has reduced the danger of clashes on a world scale. The second process is developing when it looks that the present practice of real socialism is being abandoned, but the "outlines" of new socialism are not visible or clearly defined. If these processes of a further improvement of relations continue, one will be able to say that the world will move further away from war.

Contradictory Events in the World

[Question] Your conditional wording leaves room for at least one "but...."

[Answer] Precisely, because if international relations, and especially the military political situation in the world, are analyzed in more detail, one can notice that the global strategic goals of the superpowers have not essentially changed. This means that none of them is prepared to renounce its goals, especially not in favor of the other. The reduction of the Armed Forces and their armaments is virtually only symbolic, and in essence it represents a reduction of old-generation armaments, while on the other side the armed forces are being developed and equipped with much more modern weapons, in which way they are actually being strengthened. The changes in the socialist countries are occurring at an unexpected speed and it is not quite certain in which direction they run, so that twists and turns are possible. The countries of the so-called "free world" will certainly make no effort to support a reform of socialism or rather to save socialism. On the contrary, as the only proper way out of the crisis they recommend a return to capitalism, and the demands for a change of borders in some parts of Europe are also more and more clamorous. The consequence of this could be developments that cannot easily be foreseen.

The center of these events is chiefly Europe. More precisely, all these events are occurring around us and they directly affect the security of Yugoslavia. These processes are happening, or will happen, also in the Balkans, which makes the situation even more unclear and even uncertain.

As the matters stand at present, Yugoslavia is not threatened by any direct danger from abroad. However, if one bears in mind that twists and turns are possible, which would lead to further aggravation of relations, it is too early to conclude merely on the basis of first positive processes that outside danger to the security of Yugoslavia is a thing of the past.

As regards the forces whose aim is to destroy Yugoslavia, I think that it can be said that their strategic aim remains unchanged. Of course, the methods and manners of activities do change. Encouraged by the "defeat of socialism," these forces now appear on the scene more openly and propagate the destruction of socialism, division of Yugoslavia, and restoration of capitalism. These forces are, above all, present within the country, but they are supported to the maximum by those who think alike abroad.

Social Reform Is Increasing the Strength of Defense

[Question] What is the influence of social reforms on the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection, and particularly on the Armed Forces, and to what extent could the process of pluralization—which some people consider an introduction to a multiparty system—affect the place and the role of the Yugoslav People's Army?

[Answer] All that we do in reforming our society is directed toward making it politically, economically, and legally more efficient, so that each of its parts may responsibly and fully carry out its tasks in conformity with the Constitution and the law. This applies equally to the Armed Forces and to the defense system in general. The reform should lead to economic integration, make possible the rule of law and a law-governed state, reduce state intervention in the economy, make possible an opening toward developed industrial countries, speed up scientific and technical progress, and reduce our financial and technological dependence on foreign countries. This, in its briefest form, is the road to create the conditions for a better and richer life.

The social reform can thus have only a positive influence on the development of our defense and protection system, and within it, on the improvement of the combat readiness of our Armed Forces, their modernization, and a more efficient performance of tasks.

As regards pluralization of society, I see no negative connotation. It is simply a matter of different views and interests that exist in every society. Of course, the most important thing is in which way they are harmonized; if the proper ways are not found, they may reach political proportions and may turn into a political struggle of political parties opposed to each other. I am convinced that party pluralism does not suit the SFRY, its social nature, and its further development, and that our society will succeed in finding the most suitable way for harmonizing different interests on a socialist, democratic, and general Yugoslav platform.

[Question] Some people call the Army conservative, others demand its depolitization and want it to be confined to barracks, yet others dispute the right of the military and party leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army to express the views of the Army personnel on social problems, and others again claim the Army as their own. How do you comment on this?

[Answer] The Yugoslav People's Army and the Armed Forces in general are a part of Yugoslav society, and it is unthinkable to consider them anything else. As a part of this society, they bear all its general marks, particularly those that arise from their functions and tasks. In thinking about this deep permeation of society and defense, they, therefore, cannot imagine what our Armed

Forces would be like and how they would perform their functions in society if they were to be depoliticized, as some would wish, which means a separation from society's basic problems. A people's army cannot be separated from the social mainstream. If that were to happen, it would cease to be "people's" in the proper sense of the world.

I see the fact that some people dispute our right to express opinions on social problems as an expression of their impotence to oppose our stands convincingly, as well as an expression of their fear of the fact that our stands and precepts in favor of a unified socialist Yugoslavia and an efficient social reform meet with the support of the majority of citizens.

Speaking about claiming the Army as one's own, I would say only this: We have been and remain the Yugoslav People's Army, the Army of all our peoples and nationalities in an equal degree, and this is only where we properly belong. We have always been in the front ranks of the struggle for true social values: for democracy and freedom, for humanism and human happiness, and for comprehensive progress. Finally, this is the best reply to those who accuse us of conservativism.

Regular Financing of Numerically Smaller and Technically More Modern Army

[Question] Can you, as a political man, at this time conceive the Yugoslav People's Army without the League of Communists of Yugoslavia?

[Answer] To answer quite briefly: no. Our Army was created in the fire of war and revolution, under the leadership of Tito and the party, and from that time the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is an inseparable part of its essence and strength. The basic task of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia organization in the Army now is building and strengthening the ideopolitical unity and the moral force of the Yugoslav People's Army, and its general Yugoslav and people's nature.

[Question] Beginning with 1978, the funds actually allocated for financing the Yugoslav People's Army have been constantly reduced in comparison with the funds envisioned and approved by the SFRY Assembly, so that this year they amount to as little as 3.57 percent instead of 4.90 percent as agreed to originally and 4.60 percent as amended later, and lately one mentions more and more frequently the daily liquidity shortage of the Army that was unthinkable until recently. What does this mean for combat training and education of the Army personnel, for the modernization of the Armed Forces, and for the standard of living of the Yugoslav People's Army personnel?

[Answer] The situation is as you have stated, which means it is very unfavorable and it serves as a warning that the new SFRY Constitution must solve the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army over a long term, so that a continuous, planned, and realistic performance of its tasks may be ensured. The Army must know what funds it will possess before it defines its short-term and long-term tasks. The experience in providing the funds for the Yugoslav People's Army has not been good so far. The uncertainty in providing the funds has a negative effect on all its activities, and especially its modernization and equipment.

Because the planned influx of funds from the federal budget has not been realized, the Yugoslav People's Army is paying huge interest on loans because it cannot meet its daily financial commitments. This aspect of the funds outflow is not being compensated for, and the planned funds are thus reduced. Therefore, the entire problem of Yugoslav People's Army financing must be resolved more precisely by the new constitution, so that the Yugoslav People's Army will be assured of a secure material basis for its development. Our views on this are known to the public.

[Question] Our country has recently reduced the peacetime and the wartime Army by as much as 12 percent. Nobody in Europe has yet done this. At the 21st session of the Committee of the League of Communists organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, General Kadijevic announced further steps in this field. What else are our possibilities and social needs, and up to what limit may the Army be reduced?

[Answer] The size of the Armed Forces depends primarily on the probability of aggression, the estimated strength of the potential aggressor, and naturally on the level of modernity of one's own armed forces and their ability to resist such aggression. Looking at this problem, we assess that a further reduction of the Armed Forces is possible. The basic premise is that we build numerically smaller, but modernly equipped and trained, armed forces that will be able to carry out all their tasks and to respond to their constitutional purpose. For the armed forces of this size, our military industry produces the major part of modern armaments and military equipment, and the pace of deliveries will primarily depend on the volume of budget funds.

Whatever we are doing in reducing our armed forces, we are doing out of our own conviction and because of social needs. This is the best confirmation of the peaceful nature of our policy and of our respect for the freedom and independence of other states, especially our neighbors, and it is a proof of how principled our stand is regarding the nonexistence of territorial pretensions by the SFRY toward other states. We hope that our neighbors will respond with similar measures, and the neighboring countries, members of the Warsaw Pact, have already announced a reduction of their armed forces by up to 10 percent.

[Question] How do you imagine our Armed Forces, and the Yugoslav People's Army within them, in the year 2000?

[Answer] Numerically smaller but technically more modern. Their development in the coming period will be characterized by their harmonization with the realistic

requirements of the utilization plans and the material possibilities of the country; by economizing in all spheres of consumption; by improving the system of leadership and command, and so forth. I think that we will succeed in building such armed forces as correspond to the basic premises of society in the field of defense.

To Radically Change the Approach to the Scientific World

[Question] We have more and more officers who are doctors and masters of military and other sciences, and officers with the highest military education. How is this valuable potential used in modernizing the leadership and commanding, and in scientific research work for defense purposes?

[Answer] This is a sphere of the life and work of the Armed Forces in which we must radically change the thinking and the behavior of people. Our scientific research cadres are still relatively few in numbers, especially in the field of military skills. It is difficult to assess precisely how rationally the scientific research cadres we possess are utilized, but certainly not rationally enough. We endeavor to gather a sufficient number of researchers on some key tasks, and we are successful in this respect. We see a solution in increasing the numbers and the quality of scientific research cadres, in concentrating them on key development programs and practical problems of our Armed Forces, and in a greater inclusion of the scientific potential of society, especially as regards the problems of all people's defense and social self-protection.

Of course, this question cannot be regarded as isolated from other significant aspects of scientific work, such as plans, financing, organization, coordination, publishing activities, and training of cadres. In brief, scientific research work must be carried out in a planned way, and on the basis of long-term plans and programs, and clearly defined aims and a strategy of scientific work. Of course, the coordination of work and the motivation of cadres must be increased.

[Question] How do the very fast and radical changes in engineering and technology influence military skills, the leading and commanding, and the system of education and training, and what is being done in the armed forces so as to keep pace with the scientific and technical revolution?

[Answer] It is well known that the changes in armaments and generally in military technology change the ways and the factors of conducting armed combat, increase the combat capability of the armed forces, and change the manner of communication in a military organization. The changes are of many kinds and are numerous. It is not simple to follow them; both a material and a scientific foundation is necessary. We are paying special attention to this in the Armed Forces. In keeping with our abilities, we try to apply everything that is new and that we assess as suitable to our defense system. We have institutes with well-developed scientific research, whose results are known to our public.

Speaking about scientific research, from 10 to 15 percent of the military budgets in the world are allocated for it. These activities have become decisive for the development of the armed forces. In some countries they are treated even as a new service of the armed forces. [passage omitted]

There Was No Alternative to the Emergency Measures in Kosovo

[Question] You used to be the commander of the Pristina Corps, and as deputy chief of the General Staff, you visited many Kosovo garrisons this year. We would like to know how you assess the effects of the emergency measures introduced in the province 8 months ago, how the Yugoslav People's Army units have carried out the tasks they received from the SFRY Presidency, and how the military collectives cooperate with the sociopolitical system protagonists in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo?

[Answer] By the end of 1988 and in the March events this year, the Kosovo crisis of many years escalated rapidly and threatened to grow into an open armed conflict on a large scale. This was helped by the indoctrination of the ethnic Albanian population through many years, the insufficient or almost nonexistent political work by Communists and political leaders in Kosovo, and, of course, lack of unity in Yugoslavia at large. Extremist Albanian separatists and nationalists assessed that this was a favorable moment for implementing their goals, and of course, in any case, it happened. Thus the introduction of emergency measures proclaimed by the SFRY Presidium had no alternative. These measures have yielded results that were foreseen when they were introduced. The escalation of lawlessness has been stopped, the separatist forces have been defeated in a direct clash, and they have abandoned the strategy of an open confrontation with the forces of public peace and order. In the meanwhile, they passed on to a strategy of long-term attrition.

The Yugoslav People's Army units, which were brought to the highest level of combat readiness by the decision of the SFRY Presidency, have not been directly involved in eliminating the emergency situation. They have carried out their task by their presence in this region, and they have acted by deterring all the forces with anti-Yugoslav inclinations in Kosovo and in the country in general, of course including the forces that may try to aid the separatists in any way from the outside. On the other hand, the presence of the Yugoslav People's Army units has had an effect in strengthening the confidence in the state and its subjects by the Yugoslav-oriented citizens of Kosovo. The Yugoslav People's Army units have carried out all these tasks impeccably and, what is of particular importance, they have not for a moment allowed themselves to be provoked and possibly compromised in the

eyes of the people. On the contrary, they have succeeded in organizing good cooperation with the people in all the places they stay.

The chief result of the emergency measures introduced in Kosovo is to ensure conditions for planned and organized activities of all the subjects in realizing the Yugoslav program for the resolving of the Kosovo crisis. Unfortunately, this program has been imperfectly realized for the time being.

[Question] Are you personally an optimist when you think about the possible development of events in Kosovo?

[Answer] The situation in Kosovo is still difficult and complex. The enemy has not capitulated, but has only changed the manner and the method of his activities. This is also confirmed by the latest events for which the beginning of the Titova Mitrovica trial has served. The complexity of the Kosovo problem is also indicated by the fact that the conditions for solving it have also not changed in the Yugoslav context in general, and one should bear in mind that some outside forces are also interested, seeing that they could break Yugoslavia's unity most easily through Kosovo.

Nevertheless, I am an optimist. The Kosovo problem can be solved, and precisely when proper Yugoslav moves are made, real conditions for its final solution will be created.

To Judge Tito's Work in a Historically Responsible Way and With Rational Arguments

[Question] We are witnessing numerous attacks on the person and work of Josip Broz Tito. Of course, Tito's military work is also not exempted from these attacks, and its actual size, originality, and possibility of application in our conditions and in world conditions are questioned.

[Answer] Josip Broz Tito and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that he headed for over 4 decades always had political adversaries who tried in various ways to remove them from the social and political scene. This, after all, is the fate of every historic personality and every revolutionary movement.

One should speak with historical responsibility and with rational arguments about the main points of Tito's work. Tito himself knew that more distance in time was needed for a final judgment about him. [passage omitted]

It is clear that Tito is not being attacked and disputed because of himself. It is a matter of continuous reexamination of the essence of Tito's work in the National Liberation Struggle and the revolution, of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] foundations of the SFRY, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia role in our society, the socialist social system, the concept of the all-people's defense, and the role of the Yugoslav People's Army. One tries to proclaim our entire revolutionary road a failure and an unsuccessful experiment. The purpose of all this is to destroy socialism, and the political and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, making use of the current crisis. [passage omitted]

Caring for the People and Protecting the Environment

[Question] Gen Kadijevic and some other officers from the top leadership of the Army have been pointing out in the past few months the importance of ecology even from the point of the view of the defense of the country, and the responsibility of the Army—as part of society—for the protection of the environment. The Yugoslav People's Army units more and more frequently join in ecological drives by young people, and—toward the end of the year—a conference will be held on this subject under the auspices of the General Staff. Convinced that this means comprehending the essence of one of the vital problems from the point of view of strengthening the defense capabilities of society, and not a kind of trendiness and of pandering to the youths, may we ask you to indicate the size of this problem?

[Answer] The protection of the environment is an important social function. The Yugoslav People's Army understands its importance and pays a great deal of attention to it by taking specific measures. Our barracks and other military facilities are nicely tended, with flowers planted. Very often they are the nicest areas in the cities in which the garrisons are located. The Yugoslav People's Army units have planted tens of thousands of hectares of forests, regulated many streams, and so forth. Of course, we are not completely satisfied with the results achieved, because we are restricted by the funds available, and, like all factors in society, by the lack of synchronization of the actions by all the factors in the state. We must do much better and much more in this field, both in society and in the Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

[Question] What is your ethnic affiliation and what do you think of those who have declared to be Yugoslavs, or will do so at the next census in the spring of 1991?

[Answer] The institution of free expression of citizens regarding their affiliation to a nation or nationality has long been a part of the SFRY, a multinational community of equal peoples and nationalities. Using this right, I have declared myself a Serb from the beginning, like my ancestors. As regards the second part of the question: The process of forming a Yugoslav consciousness and a Yugoslav patriotism was begun in our area a long time ago, and our people declaring to be Yugoslav arises from that. Some people specifically declare themselves Yugoslavs, which is certainly good. People should be enabled to declare themselves freely, because this is the basic characteristic of modern, law-governed, and sovereign states. This is the Yugoslavia that we want. [passage omitted]